

The World is One Flower: Buddhist Leadership for Peace

Edited by Chanju Mun

**Blue Pine
Honolulu, Hawaii**

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CONTENTS

NOTES	v
PREFACE Chanju Mun	vii
INTRODUCTION	xxvii
THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS BOOK TODAY Ronald S. Green and Chanju Mun	xxix
WHY I DEDICATE THE TEMPLE TO WORLD PEACE Daewon Ki	xxxv
THE IDEA OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE SEMINAR Glenn D. Paige	xli
SEMINAR PAPERS	1
BUDDHISM AND PEACE: TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FRAMEWORK FOR REFLECTION, INQUIRY AND ACTION Wimal Dissanayake	3
LEADERSHIP, DEATH AND PEACE Chaiwat Satha-Anand	21
RELIGION AS A FACTOR Johan Galtung	37
SEMINAR REPORT (First Seminar): BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE All First Seminar Participants	71

TOWARD A GLOBAL MOVEMENT FOR A LASTING PEACE Daisaku Ikeda	85
PEACE AND BUDDHISM Johan Galtung	109
BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA I. Ochirbal	129
PROSPERITY OF CHINESE BUDDHISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD PEACE Baoxu Zhao	149
SHANTI SENA TRAINING IN GANDHIGRAM RURAL INSTITUTE N. Radhakrishnan	163
THE LEADERS, THE LOTUS AND THE SHADOW OF THE DOVE: THE CASE OF THAI SOCIETY Chaiwat Satha-Anand	181
BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE Gedong Bagoes Oka	199
A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF BUDDHISM AND THE BUDDHIST PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. Ryo Imamura	215
BUDDHISM AND PEACE IN MODERN JAPAN Tsuyoshi Nakano	221
BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE Johan Galtung	247
TOWARD NON-KILLING SOCIETY Hiroharu Seki	253

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET PEACE SUPPORTERS V. Hlynov	259
PEACE EDUCATION IN THE USSR V. Baykov	265
THE POSITION OF JAPAN IN THE PACIFIC ERA Tadashige Takamura	271
CONTRIBUTORS	285
EDITOR	286
INDEX	287

NOTES

1. The Pinyin system is used for Chinese terms, the Korean Government Romanization System revised in 2000 for Korean ones, and the Hepburn system for Japanese ones.
2. Diacritics are used on most of Sanskrit and Pāli terms.
3. Foreign terms, those not included in the Webster English Dictionary, appear in italics.
4. Where authors have romanized their names in ways contrary to East Asian Standard Romanization Systems have I adapted their spellings.
5. Where names have not previously been romanized, I have done so using East Asian Standard Romanization Systems.
6. Standard PTS abbreviations are used for Pāli texts.
7. This book is edited based on the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
8. Each contributor's academic affiliation and title reflects their status as of the years 1983 and 1985.

PREFACE

This humble book I have edited, originated completely from my personal and precious encounter with my spiritual guide and the religious advisor, Venerable Daewon Ki, founder of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, the largest Korean Buddhist temple in North America, at the end of 1995 in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Venerable Daewon Ki founded and led the International Seminars on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace, biannually held seven times during the period from 1983 to 1995. He assigned the revitalization of the seminar to me in 2005 and I am currently the seminar director.

The following brief explanation of my relationship with him might help readers understand how my directorship came to be assigned. In late 1995, I was able to come to the United States through his invitation and began to have a deeper relationship with him. Since then, he has remained a spiritual advisor and a major financial patron to me.

In mid-1995, I was discharged from the Korean Army as a Buddhist chaplain officer after serving around three and a half years. Afterwards, I traveled to several nations that have deep connections with Buddhism, such as India, Nepal, China, Thailand, and so on, for half a year. While traveling, I recognized how important English was as a communication medium in the international context.

In late 1995, Ven. Daewon Ki invited me to come to the United States, where I naturally had an opportunity to learn English. I cannot forget how much he helped me become accustomed to the new world during my stay in Hawaii between December 1995 and August 1997. This included even the most basic task such as taking me to the Social Security Administration Office to let me apply for a Social Security number, arranging for me to take the driver license exam and helping me to open a bank account.

He provided me with opportunities to work and lead religious services in his temple. He trained me on how to organize lay Buddhist groups and how to consult lay Buddhists in times of trouble in adjusting to their adopted nation. In addition to temple work, I had the opportunity to learn English in an ESL program at the University of Hawaii – Manoa by virtue of his generous financial support.

He was my closest senior and religious advisor until my departure in August 1997 to study Buddhism academically in the Buddhist Studies program in the Department of Languages and Cultures of Asia at the University of Wisconsin – Madison, where I received a Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies in 2002. To this day, he remains the most important advisor and the most reliable senior monk for me to consult and to solve difficult problems. Whenever I need his help, advice and suggestions, he is very kind and considerate to answer my requests.

I recently edited and published two books, *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006) and *Buddhism and Peace: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006). The former book is composed of the five special speeches and twenty-three articles presented in the Fifth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in Seoul during November 18-21, 1991. The latter is composed of the thirty-one articles presented in the Seventh International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in Honolulu during June 3-8, 1995.

Below I generally introduce the background of the International Seminars on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace,

1983-1995. To make readers understand the seminars more completely, I will briefly explain Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii.

The complex of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii originated from Ven. Daewon Ki, who arrived in the United States in 1975. On a mountainside in Honolulu's Palolo Valley, he began the first structure in 1980 and finished it in 1982. The plans for the larger complex were first drawn in 1983 and construction began in 1984. The work has been long and arduous and is still going on. It is the traditionally structured Korean Buddhist temple and the largest cluster of Korean traditional architectural works outside the boundaries of Korea. It is composed of the Four Heavenly Kings Gate, the World Peace Pagoda, the Bell Tower, the Memorial Hall to the Departed, Donor's Tablets, the Main Hall, the Statue of Maitreya Bodhisattva, the Buddhist Cultural Center Building, several residential houses and other structures.

Since 1983, seven international seminars on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace have been convened. They originated from the vision of Ven. Daewon Ki. The concept underlying the seminar is to bring Buddhist thinkers, peace leaders and peace scholars together from several countries on the themes of common interest for mutual benefit. Although Buddhism provides the convening inspiration, all participants need not be Buddhist in any formal sense. So he, leading these seminars, has opened the seminar to all scholars who want to participate regardless of their religion or belief. Thus participants have included Christians, Gandhians, Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Marxists, Secular Humanists and others.

The first seminar was held in Honolulu, Hawaii, during October 22-28, 1983, on the theme of "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace." It was held under the auspice of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and was co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii at Manoa. Professor Glenn D. Paige from the Political Science Department served as the Director of the Seminar. He is a specialist in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953 and political leadership and

perhaps the foremost authority in non-violence (non-killing) as a study for political science. There were three discussion papers on Buddhism by Wimal Dissanayake, leadership by Chaiwat Satha-Anand and peace by Johan Galtung. Participants came from China, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Soviet Union, Thailand and the USA. The papers presented in the seminar are contained in Glenn D. Paige, ed., *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace* (Honolulu: Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, 1984).

The second seminar was held in Tokyo, Japan, during December 2-7, 1985, on the theme of "Buddhism in the Context of Various Countries." The seminar was held under the joint auspices of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Peace Research Institute of Sōka University. Professor Glenn D. Paige from the Political Science Department of the University of Hawaii – Manoa served as the Director of the Seminar. Context papers included those on Bali by Gedong Bagoes Oka, China by Zhao Baoxu, India by N. Radhakrishnan, Japan by Nakano Tsuyoshi and Takamura Tadashige, Mongolia by I. Ochirbal, the Soviet Union by V. Baykov and V. Hlynov, Thailand by Chaiwat Satha-Anand and the United States by Ryo Imamura. Bali, India and Mongolia were added to the nations represented in the first seminar. The proceedings are included in Sōka University, Peace Research Institute, ed., *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace* (Tokyo: Sōka University, Peace Research Institute, 1986).

The third seminar was held in Honolulu, Hawaii during May 23-28, 1987, on a theme suggested by Chaiwat Satha-Anand from Thailand, "Peacemaking in Buddhist Contexts." It was co-sponsored by the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Peace Institute of the University of Hawaii. Participants included those from China, India, Japan, South Korea, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Thailand, and the USA. Principal discussion papers concentrated on Sri Lanka by A. T. Ariyaratne, Thailand by Chaiwat Satha-Anand and Vietnam by Thich Nhat Hanh. Professor Glenn D. Paige from the Political Science Department served as the Director of the Seminar. I am planning to publish selected papers from this seminar together with those from other

sources in a general volume on *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace*.

The fourth seminar was held in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, during August 16-24, 1989, on the theme of “Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem Solving.” It was held under the joint sponsorship of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) and the Center for Global Nonviolence Planning Project of the Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii. Professor Glenn D. Paige from the Political Science Department served as the Director of the Seminar. The theme of the papers included Buddhism by Sulak Sivaraksa, leadership for global problem solving by Mushakoji Kinhide, and the context for peaceful global transformation by Johan Galtung. Discussions focused on the relevance of Buddhism for solving the interrelated problems of disarmament, economic justice, human rights, environmental preservation, and transnational problem-solving cooperation. Participants came from China, India, Japan, two Koreas, Mongolia, the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Vietnam and the USA. Some seminar papers have been published in the journal of the Asia Buddhist Conference for Peace, *Buddhists for Peace*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1989).

The fifth seminar was held in Seoul, Korea, during November 18-21, 1991, on the theme of “Exploration of Ways to Put Buddhist Thought into Social Practice for Peace and Justice.” It was held under the joint sponsorship of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Korean Buddhist Research Institute of Dongguk University, cosponsored by the Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects and the Korean Buddhism Promotion Foundation. Professor Jeongil Do from the Department of English Literature of Kyung Hee University served as the Director of the Seminar. More than 60 participants came from Canada, China, Germany, India, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Vietnam and the USA. Together with my close colleague, Ronald S. Green, I edited and published selected papers in *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006).

The sixth seminar was held in Honolulu during November 24-28, 1993, on the theme “A Buddhist World View and Concept of Peace.” The seminar was held under the joint auspices of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Department of Philosophy at the University of Hawaii. Ten participants presented papers related to early Buddhism, Mahāyāna, East Asian Buddhism as well as modern Buddhist movements in Asia and the West. Participants included those from Korea, Sri Lanka and the USA. Professor David Kalupahana of the Department of Philosophy served as the Director of the Seminar. I am planning to publish the seminar’s papers under the title “Buddhist World Views and Concept of Peace” as one of a series of volumes on *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace*.

The seventh seminar was held in Honolulu during June 3-8, 1995, on the theme of “Buddhism and Peace: Theory and Practice.” The seminar was held under the joint sponsorship of the Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and the Department of Philosophy, University of Hawaii at Manoa. More than forty scholars and religious leaders from Asia, Europe and the USA participated in the seminar. Papers dealt with five themes: (1) the Individual and Peace, (2) Society and Conflict Resolution, (3) Environment, (4) Health and (5) East Asian Buddhism. Professor Kalupahana directed the Seminar. I published selected papers with the title of the same theme, *Buddhism and Peace: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Blue Pine, 2006).

As clear from the above passages, the articles presented in the first, second and fourth international seminars on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace, held in 1983, 1985 and 1989 respectively, were selected and published. I selected, edited and published the articles presented in the fifth and seventh international seminars, held in 1991 and 1995 respectively. Even though the two books respectively presented in the first and second international seminars in 1983 and 1985 were published, they have not been distributed worldwide. The present book is a combined edition of the two books presented in the first and second international seminars on the same topic.

In the near future, I am planning to publish the remaining two books by selecting and editing the articles submitted in the third and sixth international seminars, held in 1987 and 1993 respectively as the serial volumes. I will reedit and republish the serial volumes, published previously, under my chief editorship with our publisher Blue Pine Books. I will republish Johan Galtung's *Buddhism: A Quest for Unity and Peace* (Honolulu, Hawaii: Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, 1988) as soon as possible. I plan to publish as many books on Buddhism and peace as possible with our publisher.

Unfortunately, the international seminar did not continue after 1995. However, I will revitalize the international seminar in order to domestically and internationally promote peace in this struggling society by succeeding the original vision of Ven. Daewon Ki in Hawaii or elsewhere as soon as possible.

Ven. Daewon Ki concentrated on his peace activities on two aspects as follows. First, he dedicated his peace activities to making peace in the world by holding seven international seminars and disseminating Buddhist teachings on peace and justice, as I have detailed in the above paragraphs.

Second, he, as a Korean Buddhist monk, dedicated his peace activities to bringing peace between two Koreas. He visited North Korea eight times between July 1988 and December 1996. He held numerous meetings with many of the high-ranking administrators and politicians of the North Korean government and thirteen official meetings with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists. He constructively discussed with North Korean administrators, politicians and Buddhists on how two Koreas could foster a peaceful atmosphere on the Korean Peninsula and on how Buddhists could contribute to the peaceful reunification of two Koreas.

In his first visit to North Korea, he attended the first official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Yonghwa-sa Temple on July 21, 1988. The meeting attendants are as follows: two US representatives, Ven. Daewon Ki and Professor Glenn D. Paige, and five North Korean representatives, Bak Taeho, chairman of the federation; the secretary of the

federation; the abbot of Yonghwa-sa Temple; Bak Changgon, vice director of the Juche Academy of Science; and Professor Gim Changsu of the academy.

The background for Ven. Daewon Ki's first visit to North Korea can be summarized as follows. Professor Seki Hiroharu of the Institute of Oriental Culture of the University of Tokyo, who had a close relationship with Director Hwang Jangyeop of the Juche Academy in North Korea, arranged his close academic colleague Professor Glenn D. Paige to visit North Korea in 1987. Professor Paige accompanied his religious colleague Ven. Daewon Ki in his second visit to North Korea in 1988. Ven. Daewon Ki's first historic visit was made possible by his close colleague Professor Paige in 1988.

Both sides exchanged their concerns in the first official meeting. Ven. Daewon Ki suggested that Buddhists, regardless of North Korean Buddhists and other Korean Buddhists, including overseas Korean Buddhists and South Korean Buddhists, should gradually exchange their concerns and interests and he requested that the federation should provide source materials on the current status of North Korean Buddhism to him. Chairman Bak Taeho explained the status of North Korean Buddhism regarding monastics, temples, believers, the Korean translation of Buddhist texts, and others. They agreed to exchange their interests and concerns between North Korean Buddhism and Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and agreed on the necessity to exchange Buddhists and Buddhism between two Koreas.

In his second visit, he attended the second official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Goryeo Hotel on March 26, 1989. The meeting participants are as follows: two US representatives, Ven. Daewon Ki and Professor Paige and two North Korean representatives, Chairman Bak Taeho and senior advisor Gim Jonghong of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists. Ven. Daewon Ki suggested the federation to begin exchanges between two Koreas from the religious level. However, Chairman Bak Taeho asserted that the political situation's change on the Korean Peninsula should precede the

religious exchange between two Koreas. They did not have an agreement in this meeting.

He had the third official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Okryugwan Restaurant on March 31, 1989. Ven. Daewon Ki, Professor Paige and Chairman Bak Taeho attended the meeting. Both sides respectively explained the status quo of South and North Korean Buddhism. Chairman Bak Taeho explained the status quo of North Korean monastic education. They exchanged their opinion on how to repair North Korean Buddhist temples. They agreed to cooperate to reunite two Koreas by mutual exchanges between South and North Korean Buddhists. Ven. Daewon Ki invited two North Korean Buddhist representatives, including Chairman Bak Taeho, to Hawaii. Chairman Bak Taeho accepted Ven. Daewon Ki's invitation and agreed that two North Korean Buddhist representatives would visit the United States in March, 1990.

He, along with Professor Paige, also initiated academic exchanges between North Korea and the University of Hawaii – Manoa in his second visit to North Korea in early 1989. Later, two times, three North Korean scholars visited the United States and presented their papers at the University of Hawaii – Manoa. The president of the University of Hawaii – Manoa officially visited North Korea, which was the first official visit by the president of a US university or college.

He had the fourth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists in Ulan Bator, Mongolia during August 16 – 24, 1989, when Ven. Daewon Ki hosted the 4th International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace on the theme of “Buddhism and Nonviolent Global Problem-solving.” Ven. Jinwol Lee, secretary of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, on behalf of Ven. Daewon Ki, attended the official meeting. Advisor I Jongyul of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists and its vice chairman Hwang Byeongdae attended it. They discussed where they would host the 5th International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace and agreed to further concretely discuss the case in later times. They also emphasized the Buddhist roles for the reunification between two Koreas in the

meeting. They agreed to find many ways to improve mutual exchanges between Buddhists on the Korean Peninsula. The federation presented a ceramic Sakyamuni image of 25 centimeter in height to Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii.

In his third visit, he held the fifth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Yonghwa-sa Temple on October 7, 1989. Ven. Daewon Ki, Chairman Bak Taeho, the abbot of the Yonghwa-sa Temple, senior advisor Gim Jonghong, and two additional North Korean representatives attended the meeting. The Federation of (South) Korean Buddhist Sects issued an invitation letter to the Federation of North Korean Buddhists. The Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects was supposed to host the huge festival entitled “Lotus Lantern Festival” on Han River in Seoul. He delivered the invitation and its relevant materials to the federation. Chairman Bak Taeho told him that he would notify him of whether or not he could attend the festival by October 8.

He had the sixth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Cheongryugwan Restaurant in Pyeongyang on October 8, 1989. Ven. Daewon Ki and Chairman Bak Taeho agreed to hold the meeting for representatives at the truce village in the demilitarized zone (DMZ) to discuss the case of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists’ participation in the festival. They tentatively agreed that the number of each side’s representatives might be five and they concluded that they could add two more representatives later if needed. They agreed to make the meeting date as soon as possible.

Ven. Daewon Ki and Chairman Bak Taeho held the seventh official meeting at Goryeo Hotel in Pyeongyang on October 9, 1989. They concretized the discussions and confirmed the agreements which they had in the sixth official meeting.

In his fourth visit, he was accompanied by two political scientists, Dae-sook Suh and Glenn D. Paige, both of whom are from the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii – Manoa. Professor Dae-sook Suh is a specialist in the leadership of North Korean government, including late Gim Ilseong, former leader and his son Gim Jeongil, current leader, and the founder of

the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii – Manoa. They visited Gwangbeop-sa Temple, Singye-sa Temple, Jangan-sa Temple, Pyohun-sa Temple, Bodeok-am Hermitage and Mt. Baekdu. They met Director Hwang Jangyeop of the Juche Academy of Science. Ven. Daewon Ki met Chairman Bak Taeho and had two official meetings, i.e., the eighth and ninth meetings, with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists. He hosted a historical Buddhist service for eighteen Korean-Russian Buddhists.

They had the eighth official meeting at Yonghwa-sa Temple on July 23, 1990. Ven. Daewon Ki, the federation's two senior advisors Gim Jonghong and Gim Dongung, and the abbot of Yonghwa-sa Temple attended the meeting. They discussed several topics as follows.

First, they discussed how for the Federation of North Korean Buddhists to provide the source materials of North Korean Buddhism and the Buddhist texts, translated by North Korean Buddhists to the Korean language.

Second, they discussed how for South Korean Buddhists and overseas Buddhists to provide the Buddha's images, bells, artifacts and others for the reconstruction of Gwangbeop-sa Temple on Mt. Daeseong.

Third, Ven. Daewon Ki recommended the Federation of North Korean Buddhists to attend the regular meeting for the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB), which was supposed to be held in Seoul in October. They discussed how for North Korean Buddhists to attend the meeting.

Fourth, Ven. Daewon Ki addressed his wish to hold the fifth International Seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in Pyongyang in 1991.

Fifth, they discussed how to improve mutual exchanges between North Korean Buddhism and Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii.

He hosted the ninth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Yonghwa-sa Temple on July 27, 1990. Ven. Daewon Ki, senior advisor Gim Jonghong and the abbot of Yonghwa-sa Temple attended the meeting. They finalized the

arrangements for the eighth official meeting, held on July 23, 1990. However, the agreements unfortunately could not be implemented.

He had the tenth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists in Ulan Bator, Mongolia on September 20, 1990. At the time, they attended the conference, convened by the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) in Mongolia. Ven. Daewon Ki, Ven. Dohyeon Gwon, resident monk of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, Chairman Bak Taeho, senior advisor Gim Jonghong, the chapter chairman of the Gwangwon Province under the Federation of North Korean Buddhists, and President Hong Bongsu of the Federation of Pro-North Korean Korean-Japanese Buddhists attended the official meeting. They once more discussed the third and fourth issues, discussed in the eighth official meeting on July 23, 1990. They talked about how South Korean Buddhists could organize a group for visiting the tombs of their ancestors in North Korea on Korean Thanksgiving Day, annually celebrated on August 15 based on the lunar calendar.

In his fifth visit, he hosted the eleventh official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Goryeo Hotel in Pyongyang on August 6, 1991. Ven. Daewon Ki, Secretary Sim Sangryeon of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists, and its senior advisor I Deoksu attended the meeting. Ven. Daewon Ki asked the federation to dispatch some North Korean Buddhist scholars to the fifth international seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace, held in Seoul during November 18-21, 1991. Because Chairman Bak Taeho was out of Pyongyang, they reserved another official meeting on August 10 in order for them to finalize the decision on the case along with him. They discussed an issue on how to hold the huge conference for pan-Korean Buddhists in the United States. Ven. Daewon Ki again requested the federation to provide the translated Buddhist texts in the Korean language and the source materials of Buddhism and Buddhist temples in North Korea. The North Korean side promised to give him the source materials of North Korean Buddhism and temples in the twelfth official meeting on August

10, 1991 and agreed to positively review the possibility for the federation to offer the translated Buddhist texts to Ven. Daewon Ki.

He held the twelfth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at Goryeo Hotel on August 10, 1991. Ven. Daewon Ki, Chairman Bak Taeho, Secretary Sim Sangryeon, and senior advisor I Deoksu of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists attended the meeting. They discussed several topics as follows.

First, they decided to hold the conference for pan-Korean Buddhists in the United States between late October and early November in 1991. The federation promised to fax the list of four North Korean Buddhist representatives at the fax number of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii by August 20.

Second, the federation promised Ven. Daewon Ki that it would take an effort for North Korean Buddhist scholars to participate in the fifth international seminar on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace in cooperation with the North Korean government.

Third, the federation told Ven. Daewon Ki that they might positively consider to taking the translated Korean Buddhist canon to the conference.

Fourth, Ven. Daewon Ki got some portions of the source materials on the 35 North Korean Buddhist temples and the federation agreed to take the remaining parts to the conference of pan-Korean Buddhists in the United States.

He led the first and also last huge and historical Buddhist conference at Gwan Eum Sa Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles during October 29 - 30, 1991. Four North Korean Buddhist representatives, two pro-North Korean Korean-Japanese Buddhist representatives, several South Korean Buddhist representatives, and many Korean-American Buddhist representatives attended the conference in which they declared a manifesto that all of Korean Buddhists should endeavor to the best of their ability to have a peaceful reunification between two Koreas.

Ven. Daewon Ki, abbot of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, Ven. Beopta Sin, president of the Academy of Korean

Buddhism in Los Angeles, and Ven. Doan Gim, president of the Federation of Korean Buddhist Temples in Southern California met in Seoul when they attended the WFB conference in October, 1990 and agreed to establish an official organization for Korean-American Buddhists to promote exchange among Buddhists in the United States.

Ven. Daewon Ki and Ven. Beopta Sin had a working-level meeting to establish the organization at Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii on November 27, 1990.

Ven. Daewon Ki sent a prospectus to sixty-five Buddhist temples and organizations in North America in order to get their opinions and suggestions on January 10, 1991.

The twenty-five abbots and Buddhists of North America, agreed with the prospectus, had a preparatory meeting for its establishment at Gwan Eum Sa Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles on January 28, 1991.

They agreed to establish the Federation of Korean-American Buddhists to Promote Exchange among Korean Buddhists (FKABPEKB for abbreviation) at Gwan Eum Sa Temple in Los Angeles on January 29, 1991.

On February 15, 1991, the FKABPEKB suggested the Federation of North Korean Buddhists attend a conference for pan-Korean Buddhists to promote exchange among Korean Buddhists.

On March 2, 1991, the FKABPEKB suggested the Federation of North Korean Buddhists to hold a preparatory working-level meeting both for the Dharma service to pray the reunification between two Koreas and for the conference for pan-Korean Buddhists.

Ven. Doan Gim, president of FKABPEKB and Ven. Beopta Sin, vice president of the federation discussed with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists on the conference for pan-Korean Buddhists in Pyeongyang on April 1, 1991 and both sides agreed that they would hold the conference.

Ven. Daewon Ki, general manager of the FKABPEKB, agreed with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists in Pyeongyang on August 3, 1991 to hold the conference for pan-Korean Buddhists

in the United States in October, 1991. The Federation of North Korean Buddhists promised to send the list of North Korean Buddhist representatives by September 20.

The Federation of North Korean Buddhists sent the list of its representatives on September 9. The representatives of FKABPEKB had a preparatory meeting at Pyeong Hwa Sa Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles on September 10. The Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects fixed the list of South Korean Buddhist representatives on October 15.

Four North Korean Buddhist delegates, Bak Taeho, Hong Hwadu, Sim Sangnyeon and I Dongcheol and two pro-North Korean Korean-Japanese Buddhist representatives, Hong Bongsu and Seo Taeseok, had visited Hawaii, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C. and New York. Bak Taeho was the president of the Federation of North Korean Buddhists; Hong Hwadu the vice president of the federation; Sim Sangnyeon the secretary of the federation; I Dongcheol the chairman of the committee of the city of Pyongyang under the federation; Hong Bongsu the president of the Federation of pro-North Korean Buddhists in Japan; and Seo Taesu the vice president of the federation.

On October 5, 1991, he held a preparatory meeting for the welcoming ceremony at Dae Won Buddhist Temple in which 21 temple members attended. They decided to have a welcoming dinner party on October 23 at 6:30 pm along with Korean Buddhists, a huge welcoming dinner party and performance on October 26 at 5:30 pm with Korean Buddhists and Korean-Americans and a welcoming ceremony at Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple on October 27 at 11: 00 am. They organized the steering committee for welcoming North Korean Buddhist representatives. They several times publicized the events on several newspapers and a TV channel for Koreans.

He hosted a welcoming dinner party for them at Dongbaek Jang, a Korean restaurant along with his 40 temple members on October 23 at 6:30 pm. He held a discussion meeting for six representatives and 40 Korean-Americans at the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii – Manoa, on October 24 at 3:00 pm.

He held a huge welcoming dinner party in Akala Banquet Room at Queen Kapiolani Hotel on October 26 at 5:30 pm in which 328 Koreans attended. The party was composed of two parts. In the first part, various welcoming rituals were included and in the second part, several welcoming performances were conducted. In the first part, Ven. Daewon Ki, abbot of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple, Jean King, former lieutenant governor of the State of Hawaii, the consul general of the Republic of Korea's Consulate General in Honolulu; and others presented welcoming messages and Chairman Bak Taeho presented a souvenir along with a reply message. In the second part, Bohyeon (Skt., Samantabhadra Bodhisattva) Classical Dance Company, affiliated with Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, performed several Buddhist classical dances, Tica Petkoff, a Korean-American, sang a solo song and some singers sang several solo songs, which were accompanied with a trio musical performance of a cellist, a violinist and a pianist.

He hosted a regular Sunday Buddhist service at Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii on October 27 at 11:00 am in which more than 100 laypersons attended. Ven. Jinwol Lee, resident priest, delivered a Dharma talk, Ven. Daewon Ki and the President of the Lay Buddhist Association of Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple respectively presented welcoming addresses along with souvenirs, and Chairman Bak Taeho from North Korea and Representative Hong Bongsu from Japan respectively presented souvenirs along with reply messages.

The representatives from North Korea and Japan traveled from Honolulu to Los Angeles on October 28. They attended the first and also last huge and historical Buddhist conference at Gwan Eum Sa Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles during October 29-30, 1991.

South Korean Buddhist representatives were Ven. Seo Uihyeon, president of Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, the biggest Korean Buddhist denomination, and president of the Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects; Ven. Song Wolju, former president of the same order; Ven. Bak Hyeryun, president of Taego Order of Korean Buddhism, the second biggest Korean

Buddhist denomination, and vice president of the Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects; and Ven. Jeon Undeok, president of Cheontae Order of Korean Buddhism, the third largest Korean Buddhist denomination, and vice president of the Federation of South Korean Buddhist Sects.

Korean-American Buddhist representatives included main Buddhist monastic and lay leaders across North America.

During October 31 – November 2, four North Korean Buddhist representatives and two pro-North Korean Korean-Japanese representatives visited several Buddhist temples, including Korean and non-Korean temples; had several meetings with Korean-Americans; and visited several tourist places in the Los Angeles area. They attended a Sunday welcoming service on November 3 at 11:00 am during which they prayed the reunification between two Koreas.

The six representatives traveled from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C. on November 4. They visited several Buddhist temples and had several meetings with Korean-Americans in the Washington, D. C. area during November 5 - 6.

They went from Washington, D.C. to New York on November 7. They visited several Buddhist temples and had several meetings with Korean-Americans in the New York area during November 8-9. They attended a welcoming Sunday service on November 10 at 11:00 am in which they prayed the reunification between two Koreas. They departed from New York to Pyongyang on November 11.

In his sixth visit, he held the thirteenth official meeting with the Federation of North Korean Buddhists at the Federation's headquarter building on April 30, 1995. It was the first official meeting held in the headquarter building between the Federation of North Korean Buddhists and other overseas Buddhists since the division of two Koreas in 1945. Ven. Daewon Ki, Chairman Bak Taeho, vice chairman Hwang Byeongdae and Secretary Sim Sangryeon attended the meeting. They discussed several topics as follows.

First, they exchanged their opinions to reconstruct Singye-sa Temple on Mt. Geumgang and to construct a Buddhist museum in

there. They could collect and preserve Buddhist cultural properties scattered across North Korea in the museum. It could attract domestic and foreign tourists to there and show excellent properties of Korean Buddhism to them.

Second, they discussed methods on how to enshrine an image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva near the beach in Wonsan to wish the reunification between two Koreas, the prosperity of Koreans and world peace.

Third, they wanted to hold a Buddhist service for South and North Buddhists at the truce village in DMZ on August 15 on which they would commemorate the independence from Japan's occupation on August 15, 1945. They agreed to have preparatory meetings in Beijing, China to concretize the case.

In his seventh visit, he participated in the explanation meeting for the special free trade zone in the Najin-Seonbong area. Unha Gim and his wife Chungja Gim of the Jeongeum Tourist Agency in Los Angeles, which concentrated on the exchange of tourists between North Korea and the United States, accompanied him. They had a meeting with North Korean government officials such as Chairman Jang Gwangho of North Korea's Committee to Cooperate with Overseas Economic Forces and President Sim Yeongil of North Korea's Yeongwon Trade Company at Najin Hotel on September 15, 1996. They exchanged a memorandum of the agreement to construct Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple in Najin on September 16.

In his eighth visit, he met the representatives of the North Korea's Committee to Cooperate with Overseas Economic Forces at Najin Hotel on December 21, 1996. President Unha Gim of the Jeongeum Tourist Agency in Los Angeles accompanied him. They exchanged the memorandum of agreement in which Ven. Daewon Ki, President Guy Tozzolli of World Trade Center, its two vice presidents, one working-level representative and President Unha Gim would visit Pyeongyang in February 1997 to concretely discuss the case that the World Trade Center might use Ryugyeong Hotel, which was under construction and located in Pyeongyang, for its headquarter building.

Our future major project is to organize an international network to promote peace with Buddhist teachings in the world, possibly including famous Buddhist dignitaries on peace, H. H. the Dalai Lama, Thich Nhat Hanh and others; engaged Buddhist activists, represented by A. T. Ariyaratne from Sri Lanka, Sulak Sivaraksa from Thailand and others; and the group of scholars of peace, represented by Johan Galtung from Norway, Glenn D. Paige from the United States, and others. We will include the seminar participants in the organization. The network might promote peace academically and practically in this troubled world.

Here I would like to offer the following acknowledgements. Ven. Daewon Ki provided an invaluable opportunity for me to edit and to publish the valuable articles that were presented in the First and Second International Seminars on Buddhism and Leadership for Peace held in 1983 and 1985. He convened seven international seminars from 1983 to 1995 biannually, each of which has its own theme under his profound vision to promote the peace in this problematic human society.

I wish to extend my thanks to Ven. Daewon Ki's religious followers without whose financial supports and various activities the seven successive seminars could not have been held. They enthusiastically supported Ven. Daewon Ki in constructing the huge temple complex in the Palolo valley in Honolulu, Hawaii and in making a bridge of peace between two Koreas in particular and two politically antagonistic blocs in general during the cold war period.

I am very appreciative of participants and particularly the article contributors in the first and second international seminars. I am also honored to include the important articles by the worldwide well-known eminent scholars in this humble book. Especially, I thank the seminar director Dr. Glenn D. Paige. I am tremendously drawing upon the framework used by of his organization in their work on the two earliest seminars when I make the table of contents for this book.

I cannot omit my heartfelt thanks to my close colleague Dr. Ronald S. Green who edited this book in English and offered

invaluable ideas and suggestions on it. Dr. Green also created the index and made the camera-ready preparations necessary for publishing this humble book. My student Ms. Ling-yu Chang also provided much help with the countless miscellaneous items needing editing in order to produce this final version.

Finally, I attribute my humble book to my religious master Ven. Jeongwoo who has been guiding me for two decades. He has also provided me precious opportunities to study Buddhism at various education and monastic institutions in Korea and overseas with his financial support. He introduced to me his close senior monk Ven. Hyeonho, the spiritual leader of Korea-sah Buddhist Temple in Los Angeles. Ven. Hyeonho and his religious followers have sincerely helped me to settle down in Southern California.

Chanju Mun
Los Angeles, California
September 1, 2006

Introduction

THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS BOOK TODAY

Ronald S. Green
Chanju Mun

At the time of the current publication, clergy of all religious traditions as well as laity throughout the world are expressing deep disappointment and moral outrage at the ongoing utter waste of lives and resources involved in continuing the war against and occupation of Iraq. In making rational decisions about what actions we should take in response to these concerns, we are wise to take into account the opinions of religious and political leaders as well as lessons from the past on ending war and bringing about peace. The reader will find in this book, that among the leaders and lessons best suited for the purpose are those arising from modern Buddhist traditions. Buddhists, among people of the strongest moral conviction, have stood firmly against wars of past and present and the details of their struggles can be highly instructive.

Those seeking the wisdom of such instruction will find in this volume, details of the struggles of Buddhist leaders from around the world, intent on preventing and ending war. These come to us from such important historical junctures as during the Cold War era, when the threat of nuclear annihilation loomed near; when tensions, which continue to escalate to this day, were arising from the artificial division of the Korean people into Northern and Southern nations; from frictions developing from the differences in ideology and ambitions of the United States and the Soviet Union. Each contributor provides valuable insights into the subject of "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace," through unique experiences and viewpoints. On the surface, many of these articles address issues that appear to have been most pressing in the 1980's. However, upon reading them, I was struck by the profound significance they have on current conditions and those we are likely to face in the future. In fact, the articles were written with the idea of possible future applications of Buddhism to peace in mind. The time for that application has arrived. The following is a brief survey this.

Wimal Dissanayake's paper opens the discussion with a treatment of a most important issue for our study: the nature of the ideal and peaceful social order posited by Buddhism and the way of realizing it. Next, Chaiwat Satha-Anand finds ways to apply Gandhi's ethics and theories of Buddhism and political science to the circumstances of political murders in the Philippines. In this we find a major contribution for potential peace activism today: the application of Buddhist theoretical issues to particulars of institutional violence. This motif runs throughout these articles. Chaiwat Satha-Anand offers a second paper contained in this book, "The Leaders, the Lotus and the Shadow of the Dove: The Case of Thai Society." This paper examines Buddhism and peace in Thai society by utilizing Thailand's formal leaders as a point of departure.

Another valuable element of this book is that it contains three useful and thought-provoking academic papers on Buddhism and peace by Johan Galtung. In "Religion as a Factor," he discusses the basic issue of the role of various world religions in the processes of social transformation. In "Peace and Buddhism," he seeks to understand what constitutes these two concepts and their actualities, "Peace" and "Buddhism." Most importantly in today's context, he looks at the potential for developing the relationship between the two. In his third article in this series, "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace," Professor Galtung again analyses such concepts as "Leadership." This time he suggests that going beyond certain past limitations may be among the best ways for Buddhists to bring about peace.

There are a number of articles here in that provide valuable insider information on peace and Buddhist traditions in areas about which we have otherwise little information. In "Buddhism in Mongolia," I. Ochirbal explains the history of Buddhism in his country from the time of its spread among the ancient Mongols to the current situation. In this narrative we learn of the historical circumstances affecting the activities of Buddhists there today. Likewise, there is an extremely informative treatment of contemporary and earlier Chinese Buddhism in the article by

Baoxu Zhao, "Prosperity of Chinese Buddhism and its Contributions to World Peace." As long-time students and teachers of East Asian Buddhist Studies, we found this article remarkably valuable and highly recommend it. Other papers in this volume describe the actions of Buddhist leaders toward the peace process in Japan, India and elsewhere. The two articles included here about the former Soviet Union in its nuclear tensions with the United States can be read as reminders to us of just how interchangeable are a nation's bugbears, objects of constant dread used for justifying war. In our case, we have seen this transformed from communists for terrorists. Reading these articles as a whole collection, it becomes clear that if we are to apply the potential of Buddhism for effecting peace, we would greatly profit from understanding the histories and conditions of the various traditions of Buddhism in this respect. Likewise, there is enormous value, if not necessity, in pulling together in this effort.

The conditions of the past described in these papers have direct bearings and applications to the events of today. As in those instances of institutional violence, today, our nation has entered into war on false pretense, by invoking fear to justify irrational violence, and in violation of international law. Religious leaders from every faith tradition opposed the preemptive war on the people of Iraq because of half-truths, our administration's haste to make war, and the reckless abandonment of democratic processes. After years, there has been no discovery of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and no connection between the terrorist attacks of September 11 and the people of Iraq. Contrary to the official stance, the continued presence of American troops in Iraq only heightens the risk to the newly formed and fragile government there. Rising insurgency in post-election Iraq is a symptom of the occupation. The large and growing number of lives lost and destroyed on all sides continues to bring dishonor to our values and ideals. Thus, never more than now have the ideals, values and actions of Buddhists been applicable and needed.

The intention of the organizers of the seminars in which these valuable articles in this book were first presented and discussed, was to provide open forums whereby participants

could express their opinions on different possibilities for achieving peace in the future. Those who have worked for the current publication continue the sincere hope that this exchange of ideas on the subject of peace will expand the sphere of discussion about issues and problems and have a positive impact toward bringing about peace.

It is with strong moral conviction that traditions of religious dissent have urgently insisted their representative governments honor the voice of their adherents and bring an end to war. Through the writings contained in this volume we may find in the faith and commitment of Buddhist leaders inspiration and information to begin and to aid our continued work toward bringing about an end to the immorality of war and injustice.

The Korean Buddhist monk Mangong (1871-1946) along with his master Gyeongheo (1849-1912) revitalized the Korean Zen Tradition in modern times after the long persecutions against Buddhism of Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Mangong also composed a famous poem entitled “The World is One Flower.” In it, he describes the interdependence and interpenetration of all beings. Korean Buddhists generally use the title of his poem as an expression to promote world peace. For this reason, we feel it is an appropriate title for the present book and have included an English translation of the poem below.

The World is One Flower¹

By Mangong (1871-1946)

The world is one flower,
You and I are not two,
The mountains, rivers, grasses and trees are not two,
This nation and that nation are not two,
And everything in this world is one flower.

Foolish beings do not know that this whole world is one flower,

¹ Translation by Chanju Mun.

Differentiate between themselves and other beings,
Between theirs and others,
Between friends and enemies,
And they are fighting, robbing, and killing each other.

We should see the world with wise eyes,
There is no grass without soil,
There is no animal without grass,
There is no I without you,
And there is no you without I.

There is no husband without wife,
There is no wife without husband,
There are no children without parents,
And there are no parents without children.

There is no peace of husband without peace of wife,
There is no peace of wife without peace of husband,
Husband and wife are one flower,
Parents and children are one flower,
Neighbors and neighbors are one flower,
(And) nations and nations are one flower.

If we think this world is one flower,
(We can live) in the world peacefully.
If we think this world is not one flower,
We will always fight each other and have a violent world.

If we propagate the true meaning of “the World is One Flower,”
We should see even an earthworm as the Buddha,
Even a sparrow as the Buddha,
Even enemies as the Buddha,
And even those of other faiths as the Buddha.
If so, the world would be put into peace and harmony.

WHY I DEDICATE THE TEMPLE TO WORLD PEACE

Daewon Ki

I must begin by questioning myself: what meaning could possibly be attached to the act of dedicating a temple to the cause of peace at a time when there seem to be a lot of other and perhaps more important things to be done to promote peace in this troubled world of ours? The world is beset by problems which call for our immediate attention and action: the nuclear threat, hunger, injustice, violence and conflicts of every magnitude. Addressing oneself to these problems would thus be of much greater priority than building and dedicating a temple to the cause of peace. If I am not deluded in thinking that dedicating a temple is an act even justifiable in terms of those problems, what significance can I find in the act?

The question is one of priority, but it is also a question of approach and a matter of defining the problem. As a Buddhist, both my way of defining a problem and my approach to a solution are naturally informed by my religious attitude and training. The religious way is to strike at the very root of the problem, which is to direct our questioning to ourselves and identify the root within

us and in the human condition. This is the fundamental method, the method of the Buddha, and it reveals that it is we who are responsible for all the problems we face today.

The biggest moral scandal of our time, as I see and define it, is that we are simply insensitive to problems of utmost importance to our lives on earth. The problem is not so much that we live in a threatened world as that we live with little sense of the threat. Living in a world where our very survival is at stake, we choose to desensitize ourselves, deliberately or through ignorance, to the imminent dangers. In a world on the brink of a precipice, we are just burying ourselves in material security. In a world where peace itself has become a problem, we seek daily comforts, leaving our collective destiny in the hands of a few so-called leaders and experts. But the question of peace can no longer be left to a handful of leaders or experts. Political decisions are always more than political. They carry every sort of moral and ethical consequence for us, yet we choose to remain blind to this vital dimension. No one can escape or turn away from the question of peace which has become a life or death matter for all. It demands a commitment from every one of us. Yet, we are so thoroughly preoccupied with our personal concerns that we are unable to see the compelling necessity for personal or collective commitment, or perhaps we are able enough to conceal the whole threat from our eye. Injustice and violence has not only become a daily state of affairs; it has become our very state of mind. To such a mind, violence appears normal and peace abnormal. It is to this sheer insensitivity that I try to call your attention: where there is no sense of danger, when we do not see a problem as a problem, there can never be an effort to overcome it.

The first order of business for a Buddhist is therefore to sensitize oneself to what threatens one's own and others' lives on this earth. Herein lies my approach. I am a monk and my humble mission as I see it is to help my fellow beings come to face, with courage and grace, the moral scandal in which we all participate.

Hence my priority is to spread the teaching of the Buddha, for Buddha's every word is meant to help us see why and how we should live in peace. My dedication of the temple is thus a way of sensitizing myself, my fellow Buddhists, and all others, to those forces that threaten our living in the world. I think there is a great truth in saying that peace will not come unless the very structure of our historical world is changed. But who will make the change? Who alters the conditions of our existence if not we ourselves? Here the Buddha has shown us the direct and inseparable link between the task of becoming aware and our responsibility for working towards a just and peaceful world. I dedicate the temple in order to commit myself to the cause of, and actions for, peace. With this act I humbly join my fellow Buddhists and all those who are already committed to the cause which was also the Buddha's.

Buddha's teaching on peace was most clearly expounded in his doctrine of, among others, non-grasping, "*ahi-sa*" (non-violence), and codependent origination. It is from these teachings that we must derive our moral principles and guidelines for actions. They show us what to do and how to do it. Briefly, the teachings are:

The doctrine of non-grasping teaches us to liberate ourselves from greed, anger, and delusion. It urges us to become emancipated from our narrow shell of ego, from the custody of pride and selfishness. It admonishes us to come out of the prison of vainglory, idolatry, and self-righteousness. It tells us to free ourselves from acquisitive habits: if you possess something, that something possesses you in turn and you become the possessed. It teaches us not to impose our own ways on others, not to dominate, not to oppress. The doctrine thus constitutes Buddhism's most fundamental orientation towards peace: it eliminates all the potential or manifest sources of conflict.

The doctrine of non-violence teaches us to respect all forms of life, for they are all equal in their worth. It says that violence is what destroys you: if you destroy others, you destroy yourself. Put yourself in the position of others, and for your own sake do not harm them. To do violence to others is to proclaim that you are

special, that you are privileged over others, that you are entitled to exploit, oppress, or take advantage of others. And “others” includes not only living beings but everything -- from a stone on a roadside to a plant. The pertinent message carried in the teaching is: destroy your environment and you destroy yourself.

The doctrine of dependent origination teaches us to see how all things and events in this phenomenal world occur interdependently. Nothing arises without cause in our historical world. Force begets force, violence calls violence, war brings more wars. Buddha said: you cannot end violence by violence, for violence will only cause further violence. This doctrine also teaches that our human history is what we ourselves have made: all the wrongdoings we commit, therefore, can only be set right by our own, and no one else’s, act. The teaching thus urges us to shoulder responsibility for what we have done and do. It is we who have made this historical world smeared with injustice and violence; therefore it is our responsibility to restore peace to it.

All these doctrines finally culminate in Buddha’s teaching of the Great Compassion. The teaching is not difficult to understand. It is the simplest and most graceful teaching: Love others as a mother loves her only child. Be joyful with others in their happiness and share their pain, sorrow, and sufferings. A person of Great Compassion is a person of wisdom and enlightenment: one who knows how to live with others in harmony.

The Buddhist temple does not exist to glorify the Buddha. It comes into the world in order to be returned, with the Buddha’s light in it, to humankind and to the world. Let us think about the profound meaning and symbolism of this “returning”: Buddha did not ask that a temple be dedicated to him or anyone but asked that it be returned to all humanity. In other words, he taught us to dedicate it to those from whom it comes. The temple thus opens itself to the world, to sufferings, violence, and darkness, and in so doing it invites the world to open itself in turn to the teachings of Buddha. Such indeed is the meaning the whole meaning, of the

Buddhist temple. We thus dedicate our temple to world peace. It is what Buddha has taught us to do.

October 24, 1982

Honolulu, Hawaii

THE IDEA OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE SEMINAR

Glenn D. Paige

Part I

The Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii and World Peace Pagoda were dedicated to peace on United Nations Day, October 24, 1982. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar, sent a congratulatory message: "It is most appropriate that your ceremony should take place on United Nations Day, which commemorates the birth of this Organization devoted to the furtherance of peace and international understanding. Your commitment to world peace, in accordance with Buddha's teachings, encourages us in our efforts."

To celebrate the first anniversary of the new Temple in October 1983, Abbot Ki suggested the convening of an international peace seminar and asked me to be the coordinator. In turn, I approached Chairperson Neal Milner and members of the Department of Political Science of the University of Hawaii at Manoa who readily agreed to be co-sponsors.

It was decided that the theme should be "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace" and that we should try to bring together three kinds of persons: priestly or lay specialists on Buddhism;

leaders for peace from any field of action; and peace researchers from the social sciences, humanities, natural sciences, or professions. Other organizational goals were: smallness and informality; participation by women; discussion centered upon three pre-seminar papers devoted to the sub-themes of “Buddhism,” “leadership,” and “overcoming obstacles to peace”; preparation of a common report growing out of discussion of these papers; and diverse cultural participation.

The seminar was not focused upon Korea. However, since it arose out of the inspiration of a Hawaii temple of Korean cultural origin, it was natural to try to bring together colleagues from countries of intimate significance for peaceful Korean reunification. Thus we invited members from China, Japan, Korea (ROK), the Soviet Union, and the United States. Additionally, we sought participation of colleagues from India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Scandinavia-Western Europe. But although our thinking was global - with a natural special sensitivity for Korea - participation fell short of vision. For example, the fact that colleagues from Korea (DPRK) were not present was no fault of theirs. Given absence of official cultural relations with North Korea, and discouraged by past United States Government refusal to encourage visits by North Koreans to Hawaii, we simply did not attempt to secure participation of colleagues from Korea (DPRK). If future meetings of the seminar are held, either in Hawaii or elsewhere, we sincerely hope that they will be able to participate. In any case, we hope that they -- as well as other concerned persons throughout the world -- will be able to read and respond to the published seminar report. In this way, we may seek universal participation in the seminar’s work even without direct physical presence.

We wish to thank everyone who helped make Abbot Daewon Ki’s vision of an international seminar become a reality. This includes especially Wimal Dissanayake, Chaiwat Satha-Anand, and Johan Galtung, who kindly wrote essays to stimulate and focus discussion on the seminar’s sub-themes. We also wish to record special thanks to those who made the long journey to Hawaii from afar to share their experience and insight.

Part II

The second volume is a series devoted to exploring the subject of Buddhism and leadership for peace. Like its predecessor it is a product of Buddhist vision and benevolence. Also like its predecessor it speaks not only to Buddhists and not only from a particular Buddhist perspective. Rather it reaches out to engage every person of good intent in the constructive task of combining thought, word, and action to realize joyful conditions of peace throughout the world with respect for the dignity and well being of all.

The first volume, *Buddhism and Leadership for Peace* (Honolulu: Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii, 1984), grew out of the vision of Abbot Daewon Ki that an international seminar should be held in 1983 to celebrate the first anniversary of the dedication of the newly constructed Dae Won Sa Buddhist Temple of Hawaii to world peace on United Nations Day, October 24, 1982.

The first seminar focused upon discussion of three theme papers: one devoted to Buddhist peace principles; a second devoted to understanding peaceful leadership; and a third devoted to analysis of religions as factors in removing obstacles to peace. These were Wimal Dissanayake, "Buddhism and Peace"; Chaiwat Satha-Anand, "Leadership, Death and Peace"; and Johan Galtung, "Religion as a Factor." In the ensuing discussion participants first identified seven major obstacles to peace:

1. Human capabilities for destruction;
2. Motivations and emotions;
3. Divisive ideologies that justify violence and oppression;
4. Material conditions of inequality and exploitation;
5. Institutions that commend and reinforce violence;
6. Atrocities that evoke counter-violence; and
7. Peace movement divisiveness

Then they proceeded to explore how Buddhist principles expressed in purposive leadership and supportive participation could contribute to removing or transforming these obstacles through constructive acts for peace.

Participants included colleagues from China, India, Japan, South Korea (ROK), the Soviet Union, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and the United States of America. Several faiths were represented including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Marxism, and Humanism. Although the seminar was not centered upon the problem of peaceful Korean reunification, it was natural to seek participation from cultures of prime importance for peaceful Korean transformation since the Dae Won Sa Temple grew out of the Korean Buddhist Jogye tradition. Colleagues from five of the six principal potential contributors to peace in Korea were present. Unfortunately because of the venue (U.S.A.) no colleagues from North Korea (DPRK) could be invited.

To further diversity participation it was ideally sought to engage the wisdom of three kinds of participants from each culture: a Buddhist thinker; a peace-related leader; and a peace researcher. None needed to be a Buddhist of any particular persuasion, or even a Buddhist at all. An effort was made to benefit from the wisdom of women as well as that of men. But this was not as successful as hoped because of reluctance of some cultures to include women among participants.

The deeply meaningful experience of the first seminar encouraged efforts to seek a continuation. With respect we turned for encouragement and support to President Daisaku Ikeda of the Sōka Gakkai International, to President Kazuo Takamatsu of Sōka University, and to Professor Noboru Yamamoto, director of the Sōka University Peace Research Institute who unanimously agreed to sponsor a second seminar in 1984 in celebration of the forthcoming 15th anniversary of the founding of Sōka University. Professor Tadashige Takamura kindly assumed responsibility for coordinating the second seminar and for editing its papers. It was an honor and an inspiration for the second seminar to be sponsored by Sōka University, which includes among its founding mottoes, "Be a Fortress of Peace for Mankind."

Participants in the second seminar included persons from all cultures represented in the first seminar plus a colleague from Mongolia. Again because of the venue (Japan) it was not possible to invite colleagues directly from North Korea (DPRK). An unsuccessful belated attempt was made, however, to engage Korean (DPRK) wisdom through participation of representatives already present in Japan. Broadened participation remains a precious goal of any future seminar in this series.

The emphasis of the second seminar, as expressed in this volume, was to shift from introductory theoretical considerations to contextual understanding of relationships among Buddhism, leadership, and peace in country case studies. These are complemented by the creative global visions of Daisaku Ikeda and Johan Galtung, and the introduction of an innovative institution for consideration by Buddhist peacemakers. This is the Gandhi-inspired, *Shanti Sena* (Peace Brigade) of Gandhigram Rural University in Tamil Nadu, India, described by its longtime chief organizer, N. Radharkrishnan.

The spirit and enthusiasm of the second seminar continued the tradition established by the first. It is hoped that readers of this volume will share and extend its spirit in critical and constructive inquiry. All participants look forward to continuation of the exploration somewhere, somehow in a third seminar where friends from North Korea (DPRK) and others can also contribute.

All participants join most heartily in expressing gratitude for the inspiration and support of all those friends in Japan who made the unforgettable second seminar and publication of this report possible. Their constructive creativity provides a clear example of Buddhism and leadership for peace.

Seminar Papers

BUDDHISM AND PEACE: TOWARDS THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FRAMEWORK FOR REFLECTION, INQUIRY AND ACTION

Wimal Dissanayake

Introduction

The question of war and peace, from the dawn of civilization, has agitated the minds of human beings. But today owing to the development of the most awesome weapons capable of blowing up the planet many times over, this question has taken on an unprecedented urgency. Whenever the question of war and peace is discussed, the role of religion is accorded a position of centrality, and rightly so. The objective of this paper is to examine the ways in which Buddhism, a religion preeminently given to the spread of peace, can play a very constructive role in furthering peace. In this paper by Buddhism I refer to both Theravāda and Mahāyāna forms. Buddhism, as a religion, has a great potential for promoting peace in the modern world, if approached in the right way and with the appropriate frame of mind. On the other hand, a merely rhetorical and chauvinistic approach can be self-defeating.

For purposes of analysis, the concept of peace can be broadly divided into two categories: negative peace and positive peace. By negative peace is understood the absence of war, violence both personal and social, terroristic activities and hostilities in general. The term positive peace, on the other hand, connotes not only the absence of war, but more significantly, the promotion of a harmonious, functionally cooperative and well-integrated society. It is indeed in the second sense that I use the term peace in this paper.

Generally, we tend to define peace in the negative sense only. Fabbro, in a most simulating article, has listed five criteria as being of central importance to a peaceful society. They are:

- The society has no wars fought on its territory;
- The society is not involved in any external wars;
- There is no civil war or internal collective violence;
- There is no standing military-police organization; and
- There is little or no interpersonal physical violence.¹

Important as these criteria are, it is indeed interesting to observe that they all are linked to the notion of negative peace that we described earlier. If the concept of peace is to be a viable one in the contemporary world, it is important that we pay greater attention to the notion of positive peace. This allows us to adopt a more holistic and integrative perspective on the question of peace and to link it up with other pressing and ongoing activities of society like modernization and development.

The main thrust of this paper, then, is to examine how Buddhism can play a crucial role in promoting peace as seen in its positive dimensions. That Buddhism is one of the great religions that have exercised a profound influence on the thought and imagination of the world is indisputable. Buddhism is more than a religion if by the term religion is understood a system of personal

¹ David D. Fabbro, "Peaceful Societies: An Introduction," in the *Journal of Peace Research* 15.1 (1978): 67.

salvation. It is also an intellectual tradition of vast dimensions which has fecundated the thought patterns of many Asian societies. Hence it is only to be expected that Buddhism should have much to offer to those of us who are seriously engaged in the quest for peace.

An Ideal Buddhist Social Order

Implicit in all great religions of the world is an image of an ideal social order. As we are presently engaged in discussing the concept of peace in its positive form, adopting a holistic and integrative approach, it is best that we start out by explicating the concept of social order implicit in Buddhist thought. It seems to me, in this regard, there are five important presuppositions that merit closer analysis. They are:

- The human being is supreme;
- Reason and compassionate understanding, rather than blind dogma, should guide human activities;
- Human beings need to be pragmatic in their behavior;
- Violence of all forms and shapes should be eliminated from society; and
- Peace, kindness and harmony need to be held up as paramount ideals.

Let us examine each of these presuppositions a little more deeply. Buddhism, historically speaking, was in many ways, a reaction to orthodox Hinduism. Orthodox Hinduism emphasized greatly the role of gods and supernatural powers in the conduct of human affairs. Buddhism, on the other hand, repeatedly stressed the fact that human beings were supreme, and masters of their own destiny. One of the most memorably persuasive statements of the Buddha is, "One is one's own refuge, who else could be the refuge?" Rev. Rahula remarks that among the founders of religion, the Buddha was the "only teacher who did not claim to be other

than a human being, pure and simple.”² Other teachers were either God or his incarnations in different forms, or inspired by them. The Buddha was not only a human being; he claimed no inspiration from any god or external power either. He attributed all his accomplishments to human effort and human intelligence. That the human being is supreme is clearly unambiguously stated in the canonical texts of the Theravāda school. The Mahāyāna school, as I hope to show later in this paper, tends to be a little less clear on this point, but the general thrust remains.

Reason and compassionate understanding were accorded position of unarguable centrality in the Buddhist social order. This was indeed at a period during which the voice of authority and the weight of tradition and convention were esteemed more highly than reason and individual understanding. The importance accorded to reason in the conduct of affairs by the Buddha is clearly reflected in his advice to the Kālāmas. Once the Buddha happened to visit a town whose inhabitants were referred to by the general title of the Kālāmas. Being tormented by doubts and misgivings as to who among the teachers of religion and recluses was expounding the Truth, they solicited the opinion of the Buddha. He said:

Yes, Kālāmas, it is proper that you have doubt, that you have perplexity, for a doubt has arisen in a manner that is doubtful. Now, look you Kālāmas, do not be led by reports, or tradition, or hearsay. Be not led by the authority of religious tests, nor by mere logic of inference, nor by considering appearances, nor by delight in speculative opinions, nor by seeming possibilities, nor by the idea of “This is our teacher.” But, O Kālāmas, when you know for yourselves that certain things are unwholesome and wrong and bad, then give them up And when you know for yourselves that certain things are wholesome and good, then accept them and follow them.

This is indeed a lucid and succinct statement of Buddha’s attitude to reason and understanding.

² W. Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught* (New York: Crowe Press, 1962), 1.

That human beings need to be pragmatic in their behavior as members of a given society is a message that comes across very clearly from Buddhist thought. Here I use the term pragmatic in a slightly different sense from the normal philosophical usage, as for instance, when we refer to the pragmatic philosophers like Dewey and James. When I say that Buddhism is a pragmatic religion, what I am implying is that the Buddha was only concerned with these questions that had a direct bearing on the liberation of the individual and the welfare of society. Consequently, he showed very little interest in getting himself involved in metaphysical discussions pertaining to the origins of the world, etc. He believed that the world was full of suffering and so decided to find out for himself and to explain to others how human beings could be delivered from this suffering.

Several parables found in Buddhist literature admirably exemplify this point. The parable of the arrow is one such example. In essence, it states that a man struck with a poisoned arrow should be concerned with removing the arrow and getting well rather than with involving himself with such speculative and theoretical issues as the nature of the arrow, its history, and who was responsible for shooting it. The Buddha then maintained that rather than being dogmatic and doctrinaire, one must adopt a flexible and pragmatic attitude to social living, having as the goal the attainment of individual liberation and social welfare.

The idea of nonviolence is at the heart of Buddhist thinking. Buddhism expounds a way of life that will lead to the elimination of suffering and the promotion of social well being. These objectives can be secured only through a process of nonviolence. Here I use the word nonviolence as applicable to four main areas: interpersonal interactions, group encounters, intrapersonal ruminations and interactions with the physical environment. A study of the scriptures clearly points out this predilection in Buddhist thought. The advocacy of nonviolence

as a way of life is in keeping with the other basic tenets of Buddhism.

Finally, the notion of harmony needs to be examined. The Buddha proposed a way of life that is solidly grounded in harmonious social living. This springs directly from the Buddhist call for compassionate understanding. If one examines the code of ethics that the Buddha prescribed both for laypersons and monks, one would realize that it is centrally concerned with the question of social harmony. The four basic social emotions expounded by the Buddha, *mettā* (loving kindness), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (sympathetic joy) and *upekkhā* (equanimity) relate precisely to the question of individual and social harmony. These five basic presuppositions, it seems to me, are central to an understanding of the ideal of social order implicit in Buddhism. What is interesting to note about these presuppositions is that they are vitally connected with the idea of positive peace that we have been discussing in this paper.

There is a fairly widespread, although mistaken, notion that Buddhism is a religion which addresses other worldly issues, and that it evinces little interest in problems of social living. Such a notion gained currency not only from the misinterpretations of advocates of other religions and creeds, but also of social scientists like Max Weber. Clearly, the notion that Buddhism is an other worldly religion springs from an inadequate understanding of Buddhism. This charge is leveled more against Theravāda Buddhism than Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Buddha was deeply immersed in social issues. As Rev. Rahula has accurately remarked, it is indeed a great mistake to think that Buddhism is interested only in lofty ideals, deep moral inquiry, and philosophical speculation to the exclusion of social and economic issues. The Buddha sought to comprehend life in its full existential complexity and such an effort naturally entailed a study of social and economic issues. For example, the *Cakkavatti Sihanāda Sutta* and the *Kāḍḍhika Sutta* give clear examples of how a country can sink into corruption and

misery due to insensitive handling of social issues. These texts state that it is not by the enforcement of harsh legal and punitive measures that peace and harmony can be maintained in a country but rather by providing suitable employment opportunities and by providing the basic social amenities. Similarly, one can cite the Buddha's statements regarding just and fair-minded rulers whose actions emanate from a deep social consciousness.

The ideal social order advocated by Buddhism, therefore, is incontrovertibly a peaceful and harmonious one in which notions of mutuality and compassion take precedence over competition, hatred and intricacies of power play. Admittedly, it is by no means an easy social order to construct and maintain. It calls for great powers of perseverance, dedication, self-discipline and respect for human life. Hence, we find the unconcealed insistence of self-discipline by the Buddha.

Our discussion of the ideal social order posited by Buddhism, I hope, points out the centrality of the notion of positive peace to such a social order. As Jayatilleke observes, peace constitutes a central concept in Buddhism and the Buddha came to be regarded as the *santi-rāja* or the Prince of Peace.³ The goal of Buddhism is on the one hand the realization of supreme peace, which is synonymous with the bliss of nirvana. On the other hand the practice of the good life which is central to the ideal social order is referred to as "*sama-cariya*" or living in peace and amity with one's fellow beings. The ideal social order espoused by Buddhism is deeply imbued with this attitude of mind.

When we examine the relationship of Buddhism to the promotion of peace and the establishment of a peaceful social order, the concept that emerges with increasing frequency and intensity is that of "understanding." Hence, in any discussion

³ K.N. Jayatilleke, *Buddhism and Peace* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1969).

of Buddhism and world peace it needs to be accorded a place of centrality. The concept of understanding as expounded in traditional Buddhist literature contains different layers of meaning which need to be penetrated if one is to grasp its full exegetical force. As a perceptive commentator observes:

Understanding has several aspects. It is, first, the perception of the world as flux and impermanence and with that, the realization that suffering comes in consequence of our attachment to the impermanent. It is, second, the detachment that arises with the realization - the release from tyranny which our values exercise over us To understand is to see, with detachment that no single achievement of ourselves, our families, our nations, our cultures, our race is final in fact or value. Some interpreters of Buddha and Buddhism are inclined to rest their interpretations there; in such cases Buddha's lesson is at best a negative one. But beyond these meanings there is yet another, if only implicit in Buddha's teachings. That is not merely what E. A. Burtt calls "continuity of moral growth toward liberated integrity," though it includes and presupposes that. It is a whole-hearted commitment to a way of life that is characterized by continuous and progressive transformation of understanding, surrender, courage and compassion Understanding has its own value and power; but beyond that it fully humanizes us by releasing our emotional active, and social powers from the dominations and dependencies of the world and enabling us to live richly through time with strength and joy.⁴

Self- and Social Transformation

Hand in hand with this concept of understanding, which we maintain is vital to the establishment of the ideal Buddhist social order, goes the notion of self-transformation. There are, basically, two ways in which a change in man and society can be brought. The first is through the large-scale structural transformation of society. The second is through self-transformation which will

⁴ H.L. Parson, *The Value of Buddhism for the Modern World* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society).

eventually lead to a total transformation of society. The difference between these two approaches can be diagrammatically represented as follows:

social transformation	-----	self-transformation
self-transformation	-----	social transformation

Buddhism advocates the second approach. It is through the transformation taking place in the mind and life of the individual according to Buddhism that a lasting and harmonious social transformation can take place. Buddhism points out that any meaningful change in society must originate in the mind and heart of the individual human being. It can then radiate outwards to the institution called society, which is nothing but an abstraction of a multitude of individual interactions. As the popular Buddhist text the *Dhammapada* clearly states:

All that we are is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

All that we are is the result of what we have thought. It is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him like a shadow that never leaves him.⁵

The second approach is to insist on a structural transformation of society as a prerequisite for a transformation in the individual. The danger of this approach is that it can hardly be achieved or once achieved, maintained through peaceful means. Violence, hatred, enmity are endemic to such a situation. The Buddhist

⁵ F. Max Muller, trans., *The Dhammapada* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965).

approach is a difficult one, and even idealistic one calling as it does for great powers of self-discipline. But in the end it is the one that is likely to ensure enduring and productive peace in society.

Difficulties and Ways to Overcome Them

So far in this paper we have discussed the nature of the ideal social and peaceful social order posited by Buddhism and the way of realizing it. Clearly, as we have observed earlier, it calls for great powers of self-discipline and human effort. In discussing the relationship between Buddhism and peace it is often very easy to be carried away by the emotive power of our statements and operate at a rhetorical level. Such an approach, one need hardly add, is counterproductive. It is very essential that we take a hard and pragmatic look at this issue. Therefore, in the remaining part of this paper I would like to call attention to some of the difficulties we are likely to encounter in this endeavor and some of the traps we can well fall into.

Very often most well intentioned advocates of Buddhism tend to fall into the trap of interpreting Buddhism as if it were a closed book. This is clearly not the case. All great religions of the world which have a contemporary relevance and which speak to the problems and anxieties besetting modern man are open ended and constantly evolving. The spirit and consciousness that animate the religion reach out to the ever expanding social and experiential horizons. Suzuki is surely right when he remarks:

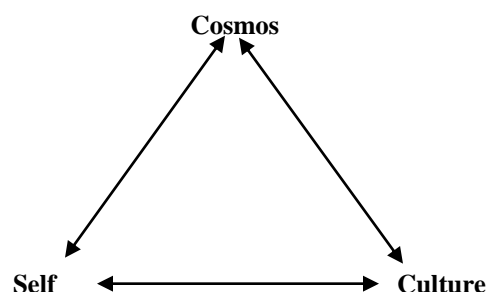
It is therefore not quite in accordance with the life and teaching of the Buddha to regard Buddhism merely as a system of religious doctrines and practices established by the Buddha himself; for it is more than that, and comprises all the experiences and speculations of the Buddha's followers, especially concerning the personality of their master and his relations to his own doctrine. Buddhism did not come out of the Buddha's mind fully armed as did Minerva from Jupiter. The theory of a perfect Buddhism from the beginning is a static view of it, and cuts it short from its continuous and never-ceasing growth. Our religious experience transcends the limitations of time, and the ever-

expanding content requires a more vital form which will glow without doing violence to itself. Inasmuch as Buddhism is a living religion and not an historical mummy stuffed with dead and living functionless materials, it must be able to absorb and assimilate all that is helpful to its growth.⁶

Much as I agree with the sentiments expressed by Suzuki in insisting on the need to treat Buddhism as a living religion with a life of its own, one must be also careful to see that what it seeks to absorb and assimilate does not violate the essential spirit of the teaching of the Buddha. This open-minded attitude of Suzuki is certainly needed if we are to harness the teaching of the Buddha to create a peaceful human society. Therefore, in seeking to draw on the wisdom of Buddhism in bringing about peace, we must be prepared to treat it as an open-ended and ever expanding religion. Such an attitude, as opposed to a constricting dogmatic one, will enormously facilitate the aforementioned task.

Flowing from this is the need to think more in terms of the Buddhist consciousness, focusing on how it could be purposely harnessed for the achievement of peace rather than dwelling on the differences between various schools of Buddhism, which would serve to set in motion certain fissiparous tendencies clearly detrimental to our task. As religions develop, the symbolisms associated with them increasingly take on culture-specific meanings. As a religion takes root in a given culture and begins to grow, it acquires more and more of the peculiarities of that culture. Indeed, it can be said that in the growth of any religion one perceives a triangular relationship between the self, the culture and the cosmos, which can be diagrammatically represented as follows:

⁶ D.T. Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1956).

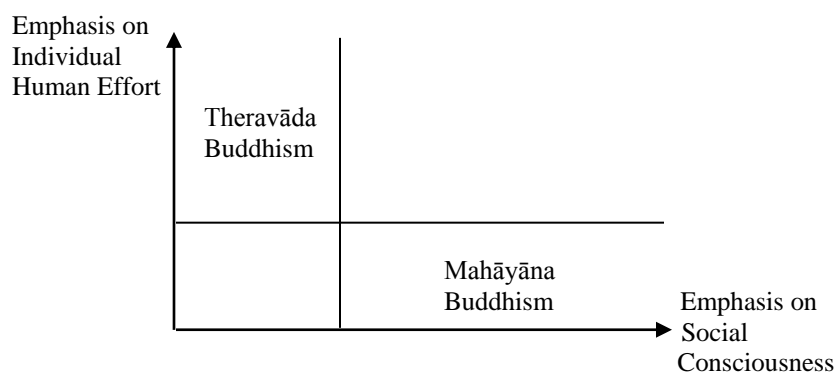
Figure 1: Self, Culture and Cosmos

If this is indeed the case, then it is vitally important that we seek to extract the universalistic essence of Buddhism or the Buddhist consciousness from what is culture-specific and see how best it could be harnessed for the promotion of world peace. If world peace is to be a lasting reality, we need to think more and more in terms of a shared world, of commonalities of purpose and aim. A preoccupation with the differences in Buddhism itself, rather than its universalistic message of hope, will only make the realization of a peaceful world a little more arduous.

The schism between the Theravāda and Mahāyāna schools is intimately related to this issue. The Theravāda form of Buddhism is practiced in countries like Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka and Laos, while the Mahāyāna form is practiced in countries like Tibet, Korea, Japan, and China. One of the main differences between the two schools is that while the former holds up the ideal of the Arahant and the importance of personal salvation through the unaided effort of the individual, the latter places greater emphasis on the ideal of the Bodhisattva and the social consciousness that goes with it. If the former emphasized understanding, the latter laid stress on compassion. Clearly, these are not absolute distinctions and have only relative significance. However, the differences flowing from this distinction can increasingly create a great

disparity between these schools. From our point of view, what is needed is not to dwell on the differences but to see the complementarities and forge a common consciousness that would be conducive to the attainment of peace in the world. It seems to me the Theravāda and Mahāyāna schools can absorb from the other what in a sense each lacks. The following diagram would make this point clearer.

Figure 2: Individual Efforts and Social Consciousness



What we need, then, is to see the complementarities that exist between the two schools of Buddhism and pave the way for the emergence of a common Buddhist consciousness that would serve to further the cause of peace.

Another point that needs to be stressed is that if Buddhism is to become an instrument that could be purposively utilized for the achievement of peace it must be interpreted hermeneutically. Buddhism is a religion that was propounded some twenty-five centuries ago. If it is indeed to address our current problems and anxieties while retaining its essential spirit, it has to be interpreted hermeneutically in the light of contemporary social and intellectual experiences. Some work has already been done in the field of philosophy. Professor K. N. Jayatilleke's study on early Buddhist

theory of knowledge is extremely instructive in this regard.⁷ In this book, he has sought to demonstrate the degree to which the Buddha can be regarded as an empiricist by calling attention to his great propensity for verification. In discussing the silence of the Buddha regarding what are generally referred to as the undetermined metaphysical questions he attempts to interpret it in terms of Wittgenstein's thought. For example, according to Jayatilleke, the Buddha refused to answer questions such as "Is the universe infinite as to time and space?" because such questions, as Wittgenstein would have surely maintained, were meaningless and therefore could not be answered. Here then we have an example of an attempt to reinterpret Buddhist thought hermeneutically in the light of contemporary western philosophy. Such efforts are needed in other fields such as political science, economics, sociology, and communication. The fruits of such research would point out the contemporary relevance of Buddhism as a vital force in modern society which has much to offer to the pursuit of peace. What is the nature of the political philosophy embedded in Buddhism? How does Buddhism approach such concepts as power, authority, freedom, justice, and equality? A study of the Buddhist attitude to such concepts will lead us to illuminate more purposefully the Buddhist attitude toward man and society. For example let us for a moment consider the widely discussed book by John Rawls on justice.⁸ It is deservedly esteemed as an outstanding contribution to political and moral philosophy. In it he dissects the concept of justice. What is particularly interesting about the book is that it underlines the fact that the concept of justice can be meaningfully discussed only in relation to the broad aspirations and goals of human beings as social animals and to the structure of self and its manifold manifestations. Similarly, one has to examine what light Buddhism can shed on such issues as nationalism, internationalism, and superpower rivalry.

⁷ K.N. Jayatilleke, *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962).

⁸ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971).

As we stated at the beginning of this paper we should be more concerned with positive, rather than negative peace, which is a holistic and integrated concept. This means that the concept of peace has to be examined in relation to such issues as social modernization and development. Therefore, if we are to pursue the question of harnessing Buddhism for the attainment of world peace we need to address such questions as how Buddhism relates to modernization and development. Until very recent times, scholars of Buddhism as well as social scientists interested in religion paid scant attention to such areas of inquiry. However, the situation has changed appreciably over the last decade. We need to pursue this line of exploration even more assiduously.

Today there is a perceptible general disenchantment with a society founded on pure utilitarianism and science, and a greater intellectual interest in the possibilities of religion. As Bellah observes:

It is my feeling that religion, instead of becoming increasingly peripheral to and vestigial, is again moving into the center of our cultural preoccupations. This is happening both for purely intellectual reasons having to do with the reemergence of the religious issue in the sciences of man and for practical reasons having to do with the increasing disillusionment with a world built on utilitarianism and science alone.⁹

If this is indeed the case, the need is all the greater to demonstrate the relevance and importance of Buddhism to the modern world, both intellectually and practically. Such a demonstration has to be conducted with a view to furthering the case of peace.

What I have been saying so far can be summarized as follows: If Buddhism is to be productively harnessed for the furtherance of peace, we need to pay attention to its universalistic essence and contemporary relevance, and to construct a framework for reflection, inquiry and action on that basis. Why should Buddhism, rather than any other religion, serve as the foundation for the construction of this framework? Johan Galtung, having examined

⁹ Robert Bellah, *Beyond Belief* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

Judaism, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism, Pure Buddhism, Chinese Amalgam, and Japanese Amalgam with regard to the four items of growth, distribution, absence of direct violence and absence of structural violence finds pure Buddhism coming out on top.¹⁰ It receives three “highs” as opposed to all other religions (except Hinduism), which receive two “highs.” Hinduism receives only one “high.” Therefore, Buddhism provides the best basis for the construction of the kind of framework that I referred to a short while ago. That being the case, a dialogue should be opened between Buddhism and the other religions so that the tentative framework so established can be made stronger and heuristically more productive by drawing on the strengths of the other religions Galtung has identified.

The Tasks of Cooperative Leadership for Peace

In constructing a framework for peace primarily on the basis of Buddhism, the effort of three categories of people are urgently called for. They are:

- Intellectuals with a Buddhist persuasion;
- Buddhist religious leaders; and
- Community leaders

Intellectuals with a Buddhist persuasion and intellectuals interested in Buddhism need to examine the teachings of the Buddha more carefully in the light of modern developments, both social and intellectual. They need to explore how best Buddhism could be harnessed for the purpose of furthering peace. Buddhist leaders of different persuasions should confer among themselves in order to extract the universalistic essence of the teaching of the Buddha disregarding sectarian differences. Having done that, they should be prepared to open a dialogue with leaders of other religions and denominations with a view to strengthening the quest for peace on

¹⁰ Johan Galtung, “Religion as a Factor” (1983).

the basis of a common program. The community leaders should seek to draw on the essence of Buddhism in managing social, economic and political problems in their respective communities. But above all, if we as individuals could first start out, as enjoined by the Buddha, by purifying our own hearts and minds and imbuing them with a deep commitment to peace it would make the task before us that much the easier.

LEADERSHIP, DEATH AND PEACE

Chaiwat Satha-Anand

Introduction

I have returned on my free will to join the ranks of those struggling to restore our rights and freedoms through nonviolence. I seek no confrontation. I only pray and will strive for a genuine national reconciliation founded on justice ... I never sought nor have I been given any assurances or promise of leniency by the regime. I return voluntarily armed only with a clear conscience and fortified in the faith that in the end justice will emerge triumphant.

According to Gandhi, the willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful answer to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God and man.... Rather than move forward, we have moved backward. The killings have increased, the economy has taken a turn for the worse and the human rights situation has deteriorated.

The nationwide rebellion is escalating and threatens to explode into a bloody revolution.... In a revolution there can really be no victors, only victims. We do not have to destroy in order to build.

I return from exile and to an uncertain future with only determination and faith to offer - faith in our people and faith in God.¹

Above is a part of a prepared arrival statement of Filipino opposition leader Benigno Aquino. The speech was not delivered because Aquino was killed by an assassin's bullet minutes after his plane landed at the Manila International Airport on August 21, 1983. What, then, is the meaning of his death?

Aquino himself was well aware of the fact that his life was in jeopardy. Yet he insisted on returning to his homeland even if death awaited him. His return to death, in a sense, is a determined choice reminiscent of Socrates' *Apology* in the court of Athens more than two thousand years ago. Then the Athenians urged Socrates to give up his philosophical way of life, Socrates replied:

I would rather die having spoken after my manner, than speak in your manner and live. For neither in war nor yet at law ought I or any man use every' way of escaping death...The difficulty, my friends, is not to avoid death, but to avoid unrighteousness; for that runs faster than death.²

It has generally been accepted that Socrates' death adds life to philosophy as evident in the works of Plato.³ But in Aquino's case, would a leader's death contribute to peace as the leader himself bravely desired? Exactly one month after the leader's death, violence erupted. On September 21, 1983, there were pitched battles between government forces and protesters at the gates of Malacanang Palace which resulted in 11 deaths and 247 wounded.⁴ Aquino's death raises a serious question concerning the relationship between leadership and peace. To examine this question, it is necessary to first discuss the meanings of peace in general. Then the notion of leadership will be considered both as a dependent variable and an independent variable in politics. Finally,

¹ *The Nation Review*, August 23, 1983.

² Plato, 1974: 336.

³ Sabine, 1975: 49-50; Durant, 1961: 11.

⁴ *Bangkok Post*, September 23, 1983.

the meaning of death as a crucial linkage between leadership and peace will be critically suggested.

“There is No Way to Peace, Peace is the Way”

There seem to be two basic perspectives for looking at social affairs: *actor-oriented* and *structure-oriented*.⁵ For the actor-oriented perspective, societies are the sum total of the actors participating in them. Societies are composed of human beings who act. To act suggests the existence of a goal, and strategy to pursue it. Actors are autonomous to some extent because they possess a certain amount of consciousness (to formulate the goals) and rationality (to conceive of means). On the other hand, according to a structure-oriented perspective, societies are structures of interaction between actors. “The structure-oriented view emphasizes structure because it denies the implicit autonomy assumption of actor-oriented perspective.”⁶

From these perspectives, major concepts such as “peace” and “violence” are formulated. According to Galtung, if peace action is to be regarded highly because it is action against violence, “then the concept of violence must be broad enough to include the most significant varieties, yet specific enough to serve as a basis for concrete action.”⁷ As a result, the terms “personal” or “direct” violence as well as “structural” violence are coined. Direct violence can be understood in terms of violence-as-action.⁸ But structural violence is defined as “the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual, between what could have been and what is. Violence is that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and that which impedes the decrease of this distance.”⁹ Eleven years later, Galtung puts it in a

⁵ Galtung, 1980: 41.

⁶ Galtung, 1980: 42.

⁷ Galtung, 1969: 168.

⁸ Galtung, 1980: 68.

⁹ Galtung, 1969: 168.

more concise form by defining violence as “any avoidable impediment to self-realization.”¹⁰

From this “two-sided” violence, the concept of peace conceived of as the absence of violence becomes logically two-sided. An absence of personal violence is termed “negative peace” while an absence of structural violence is referred to as “positive peace.”¹¹

Naturally, Galtung’s conceptualization is not without weaknesses.¹² Concerning the notions of positive and negative peace, Boulding argues that Galtung seems to be careless in defining positive and negative terms. Boulding writes, “The term ‘positive peace’, by which Galtung seems to mean any state of affairs which gets high marks on his scale of goodness is also most unfortunate ... In fact it may have very little to do with peace.”¹³ But then it is necessary to point out that in the final analysis, “positive peace” means “social justice” while “negative peace” means an absence of behavioral violence.¹⁴ The strength of Galtung’s conceptualization lies in the fact that he has always been explicitly normative. With this stance, the academic world can be mobilized to study the problems of “peace” and “violence” in order to end human misery.

Galtung points out that both notions of peace are significant and it is probably a disservice to human beings to try in any abstract way to say that one is more important than the other.¹⁵ In other words, peace is both ends and means. To be more precise, it is possible to point out “there is no way to peace, peace is the way.” In order to attain positive peace, negative peace may have to be used. The concept of “positive peace” originates from the

¹⁰ Galtung, 1980: 7.

¹¹ Galtung, 1969: 183.

¹² See for example: Eide, 1971; Pontara, 1978. Among other things, Kenneth Boulding points out that Galtung’s thought is structural-static which prevents him sometimes from perceiving the real discontinuities and the patterns of the world. (Boulding, 1977: 77-8).

¹³ Boulding, 1977: 78.

¹⁴ Galtung, 1969: 183.

¹⁵ Galtung, 1969: 1185.

structural perspective (i.e., absence of structural violence). But violence-as-structure cannot simply be wished away. It has to be made to vanish. To “actualize” positive peace, it is important to venture into the realm of action. As a result, negative peace (i.e., absence of direct violence) which originates from an actor-oriented perspective must be seriously considered. For an actor (or group of actors) who has made “positive peace” his or her end, the question becomes how he or she should act to realize the goal.

The above discussion certainly raises the problem of means and ends in politics. “The customary dichotomy between means and ends originates from the view that there are two entirely different categories of action and that their relationship is mainly a technical matter to be settled by considering what will be effective and what is possible in a given situation, that the ethical problem of choice requires an initial decision regarding the given end and the obligatory acceptance of whatever steps seem necessary to secure it or are most likely to do so.”¹⁶ Gandhi’s view on the relationship between means and ends is just the opposite.

In 1937 Gandhi writes, “They say ‘means are after all means’. I would say ‘means are after all everything’.”¹⁷ He also writes in *Harijan* on February 11, 1939, “I have often said that, if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself. Non-violence is the means.”¹⁸ This perspective suggests that the relationship between ends and means is organic. Iyer concludes that the moral quality of ends is causally dependent upon that of the means.¹⁹ Gandhi’s view of the means-end relationship is not dissimilar to that of Jacques Maritain who regards this very problem as the basic problem in political philosophy. In *Man and the State*, Maritain argues that means are ways to the end and, so to speak, are the end itself in its very process of coming into existence. So that applying intrinsically evil means to attain an intrinsically good end is simply nonsense and a blunder.²⁰ From this perspective, it is virtually

¹⁶ Iyer, 1967: 322.

¹⁷ Iyer, 1967: 322.

¹⁸ Gandhi, 1948: 199.

¹⁹ Iyer, 1967: 322.

²⁰ Iyer, 1967: 323.

impossible²¹ to attain peace employing means other than peace itself.

If the case of the Philippines is taken up once again, it can be seen that the opposition demands a decrease in structural violence. It should be noted that before Aquino's death the nonviolent character of the opposition had not crystallized. Aquino, the leader of the opposition, made it clear in his "final speech" that positive peace in the Philippines ought to be realized through nonviolent action. But his death tends to result in the opposite. The death of a leader such as Aquino's raises the issue of the significance of leadership in a situation where peace action is mostly needed in order to attain positive peace. This issue cannot be dealt with unless the problem of leadership is discussed.

The Significance of Leadership

Glenn Paige's dictum that "leaders can lead"²² should be considered carefully. To understand that a leader²³ is an author of any given political phenomenon would be a gross mistake. In his "prescientific" modal called a multivariate, multidimensional linkage approach to the study of leadership, he suggests six crucial variables that are influencing one another. "Setting" is the sixth variable in this complex equation.²⁴ He argues that political leadership takes place in, is conditioned by, affects, and is affected by its environment. His notion of "setting" is taken to comprise six

²¹ "Impossible" may be too strong a word in this context. A revolutionary would argue that personal violence is necessary to attain positive peace, or to decrease structural violence. However, it is possible to point to the cases of structural change decreasing structural violence that seem to take place without personal violence (Galtung, 1969: 181). The belief in the indispensability of personal violence is a case of a perspective imprisoned in the paradigm of violence (Satha-Anand, 1981: Ch. 1).

²² Paige, 1982: 1.

²³ Paige points out in his earlier work that the notion of leadership which he uses, and which is going to be used throughout this paper, does not only mean single personalities but also the "collective leadership" of aggregate bodies, and those both not in isolation but in interaction with "followers." Paige, 1977: 1.

²⁴ Paige, 1977: 104-5 and 1982: 14.

principal aspects: natural physical aspects, manmade physical and technological aspects, economic aspects, social aspects, cultural aspects and patterns of associated events.²⁵ With this broad conceptualization of the “setting” variable, it is necessary to ask whether a leader is capable of “leading” his or her followers in a direction against the power of the setting? In concrete terms, can a nonviolent leader lead his followers who are born and raised in a setting of violence to practice nonviolence? Despite Sharp’s argument that nonviolence in India had not entirely been a failure,²⁶ Gandhi’s words should be taken seriously.

Towards the end of his career, the gentle apostle of peace assumed responsibility for the apparent failure of nonviolence in India: “I must confess my bankruptcy, not that of non-violence. I have already said that non-violence that was offered during the past thirty years was that of the weak.”²⁷ Or “I failed to recognize, until it was too late, that what I had mistaken for Ahi-sā was not Ahi-sā, but passive resistance of the weak, which can never be called Ahi-sā even in the remotest sense.”²⁸ Gandhi’s remarks directly address the central issue discussed here because his failure was not attributable to the idea of nonviolence. Instead he took it upon himself as *his own* bankruptcy. In fact, he points out clearly that unrest and riots in India from 1942 to 1946 do not mean that the creed of non-violence has failed. “At best it may be said that I have not yet found the technique required for the conversion of the mass mind.”²⁹ Discussing the problem of Hindu-Muslim hostility in 1946, Gandhi writes, “Non-violence is today rightly laughed out of court as Utopian.”³⁰ If a leader is unable to undermine the power of a violent setting, will it be possible to attain nonviolent actions?

Usually the main tasks of leadership in conflict have been cited to be: serving as spokespersons for those who are less articulate, offering solutions to the problems they face, and organizing im-

²⁵ Paige, 1977: 124-5.

²⁶ Sharp, 1979: Ch. 6.

²⁷ Gandhi, 1949: 265.

²⁸ Gandhi, 1949: 327.

²⁹ Gandhi, 1949: 176.

³⁰ Gandhi, 1949: 154.

plementation of solutions.³¹ But this kind of formulation does not take into account the salience of setting as Paige has suggested.

Proposing a social-psychological theory of revolutionary leadership, Rejai and Phillips stress the close interplay between a revolutionary situation, a mental set or psychology of the leader, and a set of skills as prerequisite to the emergence of revolutionary leaders.³² The question for the emergence of nonviolent leadership then is when will a nonviolent situation arise? Here nonviolent leadership seems to confront a more difficult task than other kinds of revolutionary leadership. Unlike a revolutionary situation which usually arises out of an accumulation of human miseries, a non-violent situation will not arise by itself. In the paradigm of violence, violence will usually be the culmination of a conflict situation.³³ Therefore, a nonviolent situation has to be made to emerge.

Nonviolent leadership needs to be an independent variable in creating a nonviolent situation. But in order to do so, nonviolent leaders first have to take into account the nature of their own setting. In this latter sense, action is a dependent variable because nonviolent action that emerges from a given setting needs not be the same as nonviolent action elsewhere. Here it is instructive to heed Galtung's remarks made a decade ago that "the best service peace research could offer to the world today probably consists, not so much in understanding conflicts better, as in providing politicians with an enormous repertoire of actions short of violence that can be applied in conflict situations."³⁴ Nevertheless, up to now this 'repertoire of actions,' such as Sharp's list of 198 methods for nonviolent action,³⁵ has not included methods to create a nonviolent situation.

If the Aquino experience is taken once again, one of the basic questions that can be raised is: has a nonviolent situation been created? To be more precise: did the leader try to create a

³¹ Miller, 1964: 136.

³² Rejai with Phillips, 1979: Ch. 4.

³³ Satha-Anand, 1981: Ch. 1.

³⁴ Galtung, 1965: 251.

³⁵ Sharp, 1973: Part Two.

nonviolent situation prior to his return to fight for positive peace nonviolently such that positive peace will result from an absence of direct violence? This question can be addressed in the light of examining the metaphorical meaning of death using the Aquino experience as an example.

Death as the Creation of Peace?

How the current situation in the Philippines will end is difficult to predict except, perhaps, by an educated guess. But the fact remains that Aquino's death did spark a violent reaction (though limited in scope) from his followers against the tyranny of Marcos's regime. Instead of raising the people's consciousness of the meaning of Aquino's death as he meant it to be in his "final speech," it has induced the wrath of his followers. Wrath, or *doḡa* in Buddhism, is considered in the early Buddhist tradition to be one of the bases for unwholesome actions which, as one student of Buddhism suggests, would lead to an unhappy state of existence.³⁶ *Doḡa* or anger can hardly be a basis for nonviolent action. The meaning of Aquino's death can easily be interpreted as the failure of peaceful solutions because death is normally perceived negatively as the limit of life.³⁷

Nevertheless, it can also be argued that one of the significances of death lies in its affecting whatever is taken to be significant in life.³⁸ Therefore, if Aquino's death were to assume a peaceful meaning, Aquino's followers first would have to be set free from the paradigm of violence. This can be done by a continuous attempt to demythologize the paradigm of violence that constitutes the people's way of seeing things. Such demythologization is to be realized through a holistic and systematic approach. It is quite likely that religions can be used as a carrier for demythologization because of their holistic nature. It is up to nonviolent protagonists to ask a "more relevant question" about religion. Relevance in this

³⁶ Wongwaisayawan, 1983: 172.

³⁷ Margolis, 1973: 9.

³⁸ Margolis, 1975: 13.

context is not how much of religious legitimization of violence is prescribed in a particular religion. Rather, the question should be, how much emphasis on positive and negative peace has there been in its various traditions.³⁹ Needless to say, religions are not the only means used to free human beings from the paradigm of violence.⁴⁰ Rationality and other alternatives must be used when necessary.

Once the followers have been liberated from the paradigm of violence, then they must be educated about nonviolent actions. Gandhi writes, "If it is possible to train millions in the black art of violence, which is the law of the beast, it is more possible to train them in the white art of non-violence, which is the law of regenerate man."⁴¹ In order to train the people in the art and science of nonviolence, strong leadership will be needed. This may be given by only a few people who have sufficient understanding of nonviolent techniques, the social and political situation, the condition of the expected volunteers and general population, and other factors.⁴²

As for followers, they must be trained to be one-dimensional in their use of nonviolence. In other words, they must not use a mixture of violent and nonviolent methods, but must use only non-violent means. This point certainly needs to be elaborated.

When Liddell Hart asked German generals after World War II about the effects of different kinds of resistance, the generals suggested that the violent forms of resistance had not been very effective and troublesome to them, except in Aide spaces or mountainous areas such as Russia and the Balkans. But their evidence also showed the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance as

³⁹ Unnithan and Singh, 1973: 205.

⁴⁰ It is important to note that religions need to be used with care. Originated in a distant past, the vision of the prophets (e.g., the Buddha, Jesus or Muhammad) had to be put into practice. These practical actions were not independent of the spatial-temporal dimension. Through the ages such practices have become concretized and their spiritual power has been delimited to be only emotional power. Religions without their original vision, concretized and "armed" only with emotional power, can be quite dangerous.

⁴¹ Gandhi, 1948; 228.

⁴² Sharp, 1973: 465, 467.

practiced in Denmark, Holland, Norway, and, to some extent, in France and Belgium. Nonviolent resistance baffled these experts in violence - all the more in proportion as the methods were subtle and concealed. It was a relief to them when resistance became violent, and when nonviolent forms were mixed with guerrilla action, thus making it easier to combine drastic suppressive action against both at the same time.⁴³ In the Philippines, it was reported that the opposition crowds were using nonviolent techniques in fighting tyranny until minor acts of direct violence (throwing stones?) were used. The soldiers retaliated by firing at the crowds. The use of violent actions, no matter how minor, will be used to legitimize the use of violence by those who are prepared to use violence (e.g., the Thai students' experience of October 14, 1973).

In addition, followers of nonviolent leaders must be trained such that in the process of fighting, the loss of leaders by arrest or assassination will not undermine the movement as a whole.⁴⁴ This particular aspect of nonviolent leadership is unique because followers must be trained not to attach too much significance to leaders. In other words, nonviolent leadership must possess the quality of being able to train followers to be capable of functioning without leaders. They must be trained such that in the final analysis follower-ship and leadership will become one. At that point, will there be any need for leadership?

Conclusion: Leadership will Wither Away: A Taoist Perspective

Common wisdom indicates that positive peace is a desirable state for human beings. In order to arrive at that state, people have to act. Since peace means absence of violence, the use of direct violence is not acceptable. Moreover, in the nuclear age the use of violence to attain a particular goal loses its rational foundation. Therefore, peace needs to be arrived at by peace actions. Actions imply the existence of actors. There are two kinds of actors in any

⁴³ Liddell Hart, 1968: 205-6.

⁴⁴ Sharp, 1973: 112.

nonviolent movement; namely, actors who lead and actors who follow. Like other kinds of leadership, nonviolent leaders emerge out of an interplay between situation or setting, their own psychological make-ups and necessary skills (such as organizational and verbal skills) among other things. These leaders will use resources at hand to mobilize the people (their followers) to act nonviolently towards positive peace. But unlike other leaders, nonviolent leaders must try to turn a violent situation into a nonviolent situation. This can be done fundamentally by first demythologizing the normality of violence so as to raise their followers' consciousness about the myths of violence that engulf their existence. These followers, then, need to be trained in nonviolent techniques as effective political alternatives. Finally, they must be trained such that the loss (or death) of leaders in the process of nonviolent struggle will not undermine the movement as a whole.

If this is to be the case, does it mean that leadership will “wither away” in the process of peace attainment? This very question is uniquely addressed in the work of an ancient sage, Lao Tzu. In Chapter LVIII of the *Dao De Jing*, the sage points out, “When the government is blunt and inactive the people will be happy and prosperous.”⁴⁵ In Lao Tzu's idea of an ideal state, peace will certainly reign because the state is isolated from its neighbors. More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that “Though they have armor and weapons they will not show them.”⁴⁶ Weapons or violence will be used when it is unavoidable. But “in his conquests he takes no delight. If he takes delight in them, it would mean that he enjoys in the slaughter of men. He who takes delight in the slaughter of men cannot have his will done in the world.”⁴⁷ The idea of leadership and peace in Taoism is clearly stated in Chapter XXX of the *Dao De Jing*: “He who assists a ruler of men with Tao does not force the world with arms. He aims only at carrying out relief, and does not venture to force his power upon others.”⁴⁸ In

⁴⁵ Lao Tzu, 1972: 73.

⁴⁶ Lao Tzu, 1972: 9a.

⁴⁷ Lao Tzu, 1972: 44.

⁴⁸ Lao Tzu, 1972: 43.

order to bring about peace, the sage asks the leader: “Can you love people and govern the state by non-action?”⁴⁹

From the Taoist perspective, the people should be free to lead their lives in accordance with Nature. Theorists or philosophers of other persuasions tend to suggest a manmade order as a surrogate for the natural cosmos. In these new social orders, leadership becomes essential. In the Taoist order, the people do not notice the existence of their rulers.⁵⁰ His existence is not noticeable because “He governs by non-action.”⁵¹ Without the leader’s action, which is a manmade order, the people are governed by a natural order. In other words, they are left to lead their own lives. Lao Tzu thus concludes, “Consequently there is nothing un-governed.”⁵²

To lead or to govern the lives of others is to direct their immediate potentials towards a goal that might not be shared or initiated by the followers themselves. In this sense, their potentials have necessarily been confined. The existence of leadership, therefore, seems to embody structural violence by its very nature. Thus, in order to be truly peaceful, leadership must wither away.

This very fact is shared by none other than the apostle of peace himself. Gandhi writes, “If I am a true teacher of Ahi-sā, I am sure you will soon leave behind your teacher. If that does not happen, it will only mean that I was an unfit teacher. But if my teaching fructifies, there will be teachers of Ahi-sā in every home.”⁵³ Leadership is certainly needed to initiate nonviolent struggle to attain positive peace. But since this struggle is going to be continuous, the destiny of those who participate in this struggle should be determined by the participants themselves. The unique nature of leadership for peace is to die metaphorically so as to give

⁴⁹ Lao Tzu, 1972: 22.

⁵⁰ Lao Tzu, 1972: 29.

⁵¹ Lao Tzu, 1972: 14.

⁵² Lao Tzu, 1972: 14.

⁵³ Gandhi, 1948: 290. In other places, Gandhi clearly states “that state is perfect and nonviolent where the people are governed the least.” Gandhi, 1984: 292); and “the ideally nonviolent state will be an ordered anarchy.” Gandhi, 1948 ; 324.

birth to a new form of leadership in the lives of nonviolent follower-ship.

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RELIGION AS A FACTOR

Johan Galtung

Introduction

We have had, for a long time, a materialist approach to social analysis, at the individual, societal and global levels, dominated by thinking about social and economic factors. Does the title of this paper mean that the author is advocating a switch to idealist thinking? Not at all, the word “factor” stands both for rejection of religion as *the* factor, and for rejection of the thesis that religion plays no direct role at all, that it is merely a result among others of the more material factors in the infrastructure. Religion is seen as *one* factor among many, probably one of the major ones, but before any more definite stand is taken on that point, considered so important by many, more has to be known about religion.

More particularly: religions have to be analyzed in such a way that their social implications are clearly seen. Put differently, religion has to be taken somewhat down from the transcendental and put closer to the mundane level, and religion has to be compared with what is found on earth. I cannot conceive of any better way of doing this than simply by asking the question: *with which structures and processes in very concrete, material and human reality, would certain religious thought figures, idea*

structures, be most compatible? From compatibility to a certain tendency or predisposition, a certain bias, the step is not quite obvious, except in a negative sense: religions might tend to impede certain types of structures and processes rather than determine very specific and concrete structures positively. Religions may proscribe, but not prescribe in an unambiguous manner. But that is already enough for social analysis, and even rather important. Religion facilitates the compatible and impedes, even proscribes the incompatible.

In saying that it is necessary to put religion closer to our material existence to see what religion implies is not the same as stripping religion of its true nature, which I take to be transpersonal, even transcendental. Religion means *re-ligio*, to *relink*. Relink with what? - Not necessarily with a personal god; that would be characteristic of, among others, occidental religions. Rather, it would be with *the* transpersonal, something beyond the individual human being or the concrete set of individual human beings. It is “what is,” “that out there,” *dao, tao*. That “something,” however conceived, that gives meaning to existence. It structures the universe, all spaces, natural, global, social, individual -- at least to some extent. It guides human behavior, including speech and thought. Evidently it relates to this thing called “development.” In saying so one certainly would not discard the hypothesis that religion is also determined by socioeconomic formation, at least as long as one is open to the opposite hypothesis: that religions codetermine these formations. Or, perhaps an even more mature view of looking at it: that both religions and the socio-economic formations may be expressions of still deeper lying factors, elsewhere referred to as *cosmology*.

A Religion Map of the World

The following is very far from an effort to make a comprehensive survey of the religions of the world; it concentrates on major religions leaving out Amerindian, African and Pacific region (Polynesian, Melanesian, Micronesian), except for some remarks towards the end. This means that the focus is on the so-

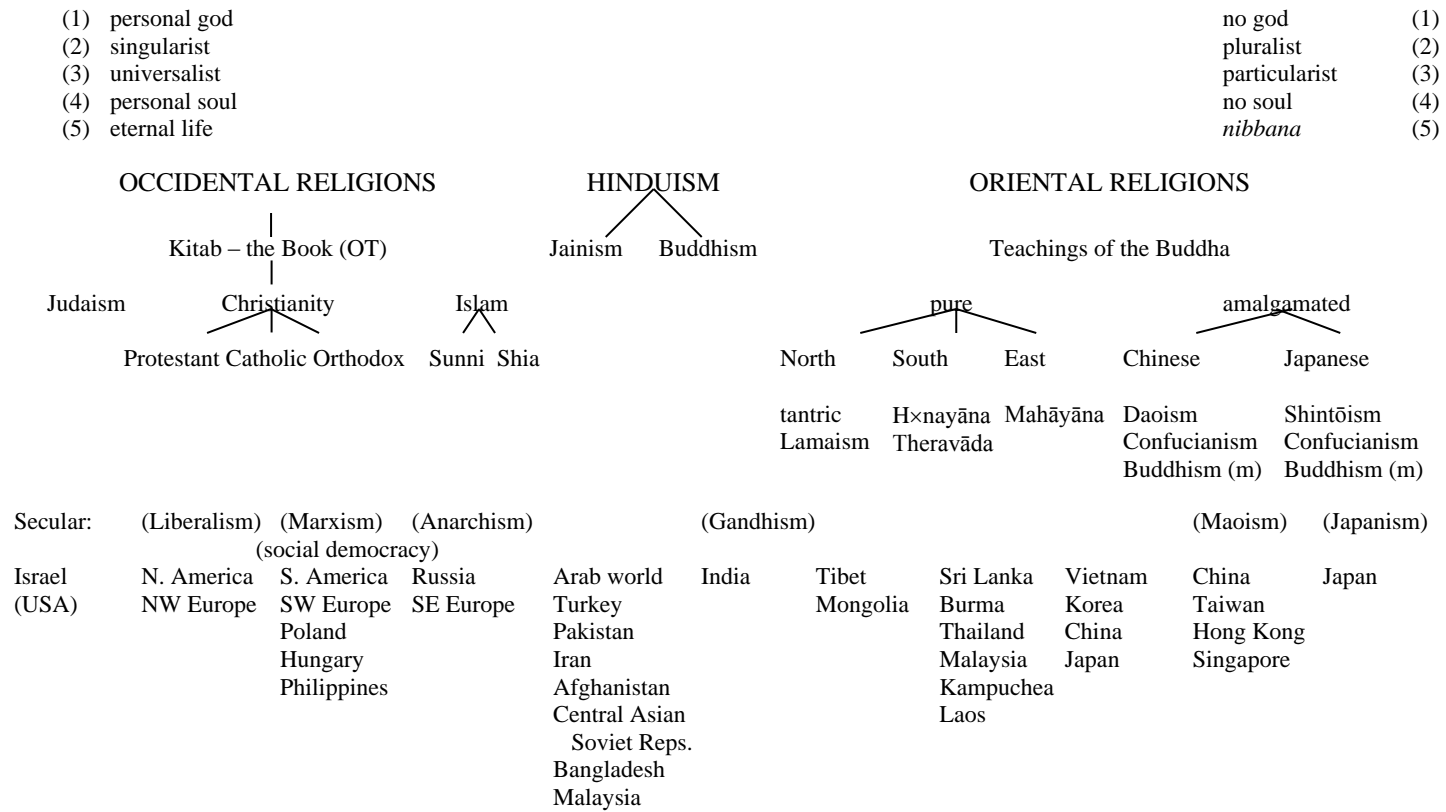
called “world religions,” in itself a dangerous point of departure because of the biases of “higher civilization” that might be a consequence of that approach. Efforts will be made to correct for this later.

As is evident from the overview on Figure 1 the major organizing dimension is from Occident to Orient, with Hinduism as an in-between category. In saying so, Hinduism is seen not in terms of “neither-nor” but in terms of “both-and,” both occidental and oriental, embodying in its incredible complexity most of the religious figures of thought that can be found in Occident and Orient as here conceived.

These two concepts are defined in terms of religious content. The Occident is seen as the geographical region dominated by the religions of the *kitab*, the Book, meaning the Old Testament (part of the Bible from a Christian point of view). The Orient is the part of the world where the teachings of the Buddha are influential. This means that the concepts, although geographical, are not contiguously geographical, and certainly not in any simplistic West-East sense. Thus, in what is geographically often seen as the Orient, Southeast Asia, one finds in the ASEAN countries alone an interesting combination of Occidental and Oriental religions: the Philippines is a Catholic country with a strong Muslim minority; Indonesia is a Muslim country; Singapore is dominated by Chinese - with an amalgam of Daoist, Confucian and Buddhist thinking - with minorities of Muslim Malays and Hindu Tamils; Malaysia has in addition to Chinese, Malays and Tamils as described for Singapore also considerable Christian influence; and finally there is Thailand, purely Buddhist of the Theravāda variety, with a Muslim minority. Many of the perplexing differences between the countries in Southeast Asia and East Asia derive, in my view, from religious differences, not denying that there might be other differences underlying this one, meaning that such categories as “Occident” and “Orient” with only mystify relationships if they are taken in a simplistic geographical sense, as is so often done.

Reading the “map” from left to right one starts with the basic message of the Occidental religions. I take the message to be

Figure 1. Religion Map of the World



divided into five parts:

(1) *There is a personal god.* That god has human features, in general compatible with those of a tall, old male, white race, possibly aristocratic looking, overpowering in behavior.

(2) That god *does not tolerate any body on his side*: he is the only one. The religion is singular, excluding other faiths; nothing is permitted to contradict it. God is jealous.

(3) The religion in general, and the personal god in particular, *is for the whole world*, all of humankind, even for the universe. God is universal.

(4) Every human being (but originally men more than women) are equipped with *a personal soul* which is individual, and constitutes a linkage point with the personal god, through prayer and right behavior, including speech and thought.

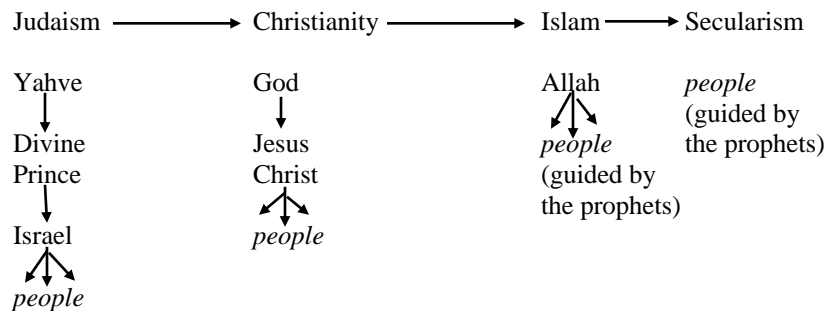
(6) That soul is given *eternal life*, either in heaven or in hell, depending on behavior during this life in general and the relationship between the personal soul and the personal god in particular.

So much for the basic points that occidental religions have in common. That there are important differences goes without saying, and the following is an effort to sketch some of these differences historically, over time.

The point of departure is Judaism, with a relatively complex structure where Yahve is clearly on the top, then the Divine Prince (the Messiah), then the Chosen People, Israel, and only at this point: people in general. Concretely, this means that people in general have to be in one way or the other subservient to Israel, if via Israel and the Divine Prince and His messages they want to establish a link to Yahve. Clearly, over time this can only last as

long as Israel had some type of command over the surrounding peoples - with this condition no longer obtaining, Judaism becomes

Figure 2: Occidental Faith: A Historical Sketch



precisely that, the religion for Judaea, for the Jews. In other words, universalism is given up, particularism is ushered in, Yahve becomes a tribal god. Judaism then ceases being a missionary religion since it is for the Jews only, and in that sense no longer is a fully fledged Occidental religion as here defined. But originally it was, and the doctrine of Chosen People carries over into its successors in the notion that it is not by chance that Truth was revealed to somebody before somebody else, and to some people before others.

The Christian Revolution in this image of relationship between humans and God was a rather profound one. What Jesus Christ did was simply to announce himself as the Divine Prince, the Messiah, filling the status expectations for that vacant position (in his own view, and that of some others), dismissing Israel as the Chosen People and declaring himself as the Way between people in general and God. Thus, the relationship was simplified; no people was explicitly more chosen than others. Moreover, the Divine Prince, was *here, now*, both human and God, actualizing the visions of the Prophets, opening a window for a humanity struck by original sin: salvation can be obtained through faith in Jesus Christ the Savior. That the reaction among the Jews was less than enthusiastic, in general, cannot possibly be a surprise, nor should it be a surprise 2000 years later. Any joy at having the Messiah here

and now must have been tempered by the teachings denying any particular status to the people of Israel. Thus the total message was ambiguous and deeply emotional to put it mildly, leading both to submission and hopes for salvation, and to crucifixion, and the latter not only at the hands of the Roman occupiers.

Islam goes one step further according to this line of thinking, even by abolishing the figure of the Divine Prince. Allah becomes pure god and the Prophet, whose teaching serves as a guide, is a pure human being; thereby differing sharply from a Christianity where God has human features and Christ has god-features, even to the point of a Father-Son relationship. In so doing it is easily seen how much more purely spiritual Islam is than Christianity, devoid of highly complicating dogmas about complex family relationships, immaculate conception, resurrection after death not only of the soul but *in carnis* (the grave was empty, there was no corpse there). A Muslim does not have to believe in any such thing, one additional factor explaining why Islam today seems to spread much more quickly than Christianity, the latter rather being in decline (there are also other factors).

It makes no sense to trace a history of Occidental faith without adding to this Secularism, religion without God, often also referred to as *ideology*. One might also have used the word “humanism” for here people come out on top. They become an end, of and by, themselves; maybe together with Capital in *liberalism* and History in *Marxism*. God is no longer sacred since there is no God, *homo res sacra hominibus*. But prophets remain, the most famous ones in recent times being Adam Smith and his successors (John Maynard Keynes, Wassily Leontief, Walt Rostow, Milton Friedman) and Karl Marx with successors (Engels, Lenin and Stalin). In this connection, *anarchism* should also be mentioned, in coming out of Occidental reality with the most important “prophets” one group of French authors, Rousseau, Proudhon, St. Simon and Fourier; and one group of Russian authors headed by Bakunin and Kropotkin.

In these secular faiths man is alone, in the sense of being without a god, in the sense of being totally alone, competing with others in *individualist liberalism*, in the sense of being together with members of his own class, competing with other classes in

class-oriented Marxism, and in the sense of being together with others in cooperative communities, possibly competing with other communities, in *communal anarchism*. But he is his own justification, deriving nothing from transcendental forces. *Homo mensura*, Protagoras said.

But even if the personal god has been abolished the next two points on the list of occidental faith remain. All three ideologies are *singular*; alternative to others, not supplementing others. Of the three, one can at most pick one; the others are then excluded, at least according to the more dogmatic formulations. No contradictions are to be permitted. In practice there may be contradictions, on the surface, but they will (a) dissolve upon closer scrutiny and interpretation, or (b) serve as signals that the ideological work has not been completed. Under any circumstance, contradictions are to be pursued relentlessly until they dissolve and the ideological body, cleaned from such impurities, can continue the march forward.

The last two points on the five-point list of Occidental faith also remain, but are in need of some reinterpretation. The personal “soul” retains its individual characteristics, a depository of personality traits, but is transformed into a “mind,” the subject of psychological scrutiny. As such, it may actually not differ much from the religious soul concept except that the latter, as “spirit” may attain an existence separate from the body. Secular ideology, particularly liberalism, also needs a seat of individualism and the “soul” may serve as a bridging concept. For there is an “eternal life,” that of surviving in the memory of others, even immortalized in materialized form, in concrete things and structures (books, paintings, monuments, architectural/urban/ social designs, etc.). But just as for eternal life in paradise: many may be called, only few are selected; if for no other reason simply because there is a limit to how much memory can be stored and not simply relegated to cemeteries and to documents. And there is also a paradise on earth: Utopia, here and soon; with an equally necessary promise of hell, Dystopia, here and quite soon if the prescriptions given by the prophets are not followed. The concrete contents of the Utopias and Dystopias, in secular ideology, must necessarily be heavily in-

fluenced by transcendently oriented religions in the same geographical space, and this must also be the case for visions of apocalyptic happenings, for the plastic period when basic choices can still be made, with individuals and peoples heading for heaven or hell (but never both at the same time). Religion matters, visions of the future are not that discontinuous.

Keeping this presentation general no effort will be made at this point to go into the subdivisions of Christianity and Islam. With some justification, it can be said that there is a continuum at work here, from heavily individualized and thought (faith)-oriented Protestant Christianity towards more action-oriented and collectivity organized forms of religious dedication. And as one proceeds eastwards, and picks up Eastern Buddhism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, this becomes very clear. In fact, as indicated in Figure 1, one may even say that Mahāyāna Buddhism is the exact opposite of Protestant Christianity. There is no personal god, hence no something that can be jealous of competing faiths and whose jealousy has to be respected, no something that can claim universality for His teachings, being above human beings. Of course, the point made about occidental ideologies already serves to indicate that no personal god is necessary in order to proclaim singularism and universalism for a system of beliefs; it may only help in convincing the adherents. However, there simply is no such assumption in Mahāyāna Buddhism. It does not exclude other faiths, as already evidenced by the Chinese and Japanese amalgams where Mahāyāna Buddhism is seen as combinable with Daoism and Confucianism in the Chinese case, and Shintōism and Confucianism in the Japanese case. One may even go further and add to this amalgam occidental components, such as Christianity or Islam, and then one, or both, or perhaps all three of the secular faiths indicated. And this may be a major thesis: *Oriental thought tends to be additive, Occidental thought tends to be alternative*. Oriental thought not only expects contradictions but even seems to cherish them. They seem to be seen as a source of enrichment, and also to be a more honest reflection of what is held to be the contradictory nature of the real world, as opposed to a possibly

contradiction-free existence in some other world, including some future world different from the real one.

It follows that this type of faith cannot possibly be universal as it is up to anybody to make his own personal amalgam. Nor is it assumed that Buddhism should be present in all these combinations. The teachings of the Buddha are there for everybody to know. Those who believe in them think people do well learning from them, but that is something different from being impelled to spread the gospel (*Matthew* 28: 18-20) hacking up the teaching with rewards and even punishments.

Then, it is a basic tenet of Buddhist faith that there is no soul. There is a mind, capable of working on itself or engaging in right behavior, and transforming itself to higher levels of consciousness. But that mind does not exist separate from the body, capable of migration to the transcendental, up or down, or in this world, into other human beings - a process of trans -migration.

These are points the various sects of Buddhism seem to have in common. They differ in many other regards. The difference between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna ("small vehicle" and "big vehicle") may perhaps be interpreted as a difference in the nature of the unit of human beings that through unrelenting work is trying to realize the Buddha nature in itself: the individual human being or much larger groups, perhaps even nations as a whole (the human atom vs. the human molecule). This distinction, however, has a tendency to overshadow the collective nature of the process of attaining enlightenment. Thus, even in a Theravāda country like Sri Lanka the process would involve groups, both in the ritual chanting of texts in Pāli, in the exchange of merits and demerits, and in the group discussion focusing on a Buddhist theme. What I do of good accrues to my sisters and brothers in the group; what I do of bad also detracts from them - in the first case because they helped, in the second case because they did not prevent me from doing what was bad. Hence, Buddhism tends to engender collectivism, always at the level of the small group, sometimes also at the level of much bigger units.

Another difference has to do with the basic perspective on human existence. The message of the Buddha, as it comes through

to most people, would be that life is suffering (*dukkha*) because of all the attachments, and that the road to happiness (*sukha*) goes through detachment. To some Buddhists this is an incomplete message, the real one being that life is joy and happiness. If that is combined with the Mahāyāna inclination towards larger units it becomes compatible with buoyant national optimism of the kind one can find in Japan, particularly as expressed by the Sōka Gakkai.

The five points that have been made about Buddhism in Figure 1 above also apply to Confucianism, with some reinterpretations. Thus, there is no god and no soul. References to such entities would be metaphorical and should be understood more in the same way as people in general and children in particular learn to understand fairy tales in Western countries: these are stories with a moral, but metaphors rather than exact maps of any kind of reality. Confucianism comes through as the idealized codification of feudalism, defining rights and duties of high and low in highly vertical relationships, placing the old, the males and those with non-manual occupation (in general, and intellectuals in particular) on top, the young and the middle-aged, women and those with manual occupations at the bottom. In this way, it also structures life inside the family with the eldest grandfather or great-grandfather on top, and the youngest sister at the bottom, and the others rather neatly ordered in the hierarchy. As an ethical code it comes out as non-transcendental, regulating vertical relations in a manner reminiscent of idealized feudalism in European societies, not of the reality, like Russian feudalism, where the focus was on rights at the top and the duties, only, at the bottom. It is by living according to these precepts that human fulfillment comes about; an ethical code that does not exclude a religious faith or an ideology of the types already mentioned, nor claims universality. There is no promise of heaven or threat of hell, only the hypothesis, verified in social reality according to the adherents, that by following these rules a decent, stable society will ensue.

Can the same be said about Daoism and Shintōism? In Daoism everything is more *besouled*, but with nothing reminiscent of the steep hierarchy in “soulfulness” found in Occidental religions,

from heavily *besouled* deity, via human beings that are settings for the eternal battle between soul and body (das *über-ich* und das *Es*), to a heavily *desouled* nature. Daoism is a natural philosophy, highly holistic and highly dialectic, and with very deep roots in Chinese thought. Again it is combinable with other images of reality, and there seems to be no claim of a missionary nature to universalism. To the extent there is an image of eternal life it is on this earth, in away that will bring human beings closer to nature, meaning in small communities, self sufficient.

Shintōism, however, is very different from all of this. Here there is a clear doctrine of the Chosen People with the Sun Goddess finding her abode in Japan/Japanese Emperor; *setting the Japanese apart from other peoples of the world*. However, there is no claim at universalism as far as one can understand; not the idea that other peoples have to reach the Goddess through Japan. To be chosen may instill some Japanese at some time with some measure of the type of arrogance that was underlying “Great East-Asian Co-prosperity Hemisphere” (*Daitōa kyōeken*). But that is not the same as the legitimization for such adventures given by the notion of being the only viable bridge between lesser peoples in the world and the supreme deity. In other words, Shintōism is seen here as particularistic in the same way as Judaism has become. At the same time, it cannot really be said to be singularist given the relative ease with which so many Japanese seem to be able to combine it with, for instance, Christianity. This may or may not be due to the lack of concrete imagery surrounding the Supreme Being; probably the Japanese Emperor took Her place for the simple reason that She took place in the Japanese Emperor. But in all of this there are still elements that are different from what is found in Buddhism and Confucianism, more similar to Judaism and hence to Occidentalism - all more similar to some African systems of faith. Incidentally, if one is looking for something more reminiscent of Christianity in Japanese religions the answer might be found in Amida Buddhism where “salvation” is seen as coming as a consequence less of one’s deliberate strivings than by the grace of Amida.

There seems to be no example of a purely Mahāyāna Buddhist country, as this type of Buddhism is found to prevail only in the Sino space where it tends to be combined with Confucianism, and perhaps with other elements. But for the other two types of Buddhism, Northern and Southern, it may be said that where they were strong enough they tended and tend to become the system of faith, for instance in Mongolia, Tibet, Burma and Thailand. In the former two, it stood in the way of Soviet Marxism and Chinese Maoism respectively, and suffered the consequences of that type of secular onslaught (in my view that decline will be for a short period only, the strength of Buddhist faith with its tremendous flexibility being far superior to the rigidity of Marxist, even Maoist thought). It may very well have to suffer the consequences also in countries like Burma and Thailand, yielding either to secular, “liberal” economic growth materialism of the Western kind, or Marxist materialism of the Eastern branch of the Occident. The latter is, perhaps, what is currently happening, in the former Indochinese territories. But nothing of this kind had to happen in the Sino-Japanese space, for here there was already an amalgam totally capable of handling the challenge of growth oriented economism from the West, in the case of Japan even surpassing it. Few things, in fact could be more easily explained: how could a country with Shintōism defining obedience to a national cause, Confucianism organizing discipline along vertical lines and Buddhism organizing organic solidarity along horizontal lines fail to be a success in the running of a modern economy once it sets its mind to do so? And is it not also rather likely that other countries with the same basic orientation will be able to follow it?

It remains to say something about the vast space in the middle, Hinduism. Of this one may say everything: there is a personal god, even many if one wants to see it that way; and there is no god if one wants to conceive of them metaphorically. They may be said to exclude other faiths, but they are also so rich and complex that they can easily be said to include others, through some little act of redefinition. They may be said to be for the Hindu space only, but on the other hand, because of that richness easily comprise the whole of the world, because any religion should be able to

recognize its basic figures and thought structures somewhere in the tremendous variety of Hindu thought. Hence, it is difficult to describe Hinduism in terms of any particular religious specificity. There are elements reminiscent of Occidental religions, and elements reminiscent of Oriental faith.

But, if one should try to characterize Hinduism the caste nature of the social structure legitimized by it is inescapable. The system is cruel, and not only in the sense of distributing power and privilege in this world in a flagrantly unequal and inequitable manner, with power and privilege accruing to the higher castes (the *brahmins* and the *katriyas*) and not at all to the untouchables (*pariahs*) and the *dras*, with the *vaiyas* in-between (the traders, etc.). The caste system also has strong transcendental implications with soul highly symmetrically distributed along caste lines. The untouchables and the *dras* have no chance of being reborn. Rather they can be seen as the depositories of the soul of somebody else who merited nothing better because of his karma ("what you think and do, comes back to you"). A highly unenviable state of affairs, a prime target of both Buddha's and Gandhi's efforts to reform Hinduism by making everybody equal both in this life, and when it comes to chances of improving oneself - to the stage of enlightenment and eternal rest, *nibbāna*, whether the metaphor is through transmigration or rebirth. An obvious way out for the "soul-less" is to convert, e.g., to Islam, thereby gaining an immortal soul, leaving the cruel game of Hinduism. Equally, obviously the upper castes react strongly and were able, practically speaking, to expel Buddhism just as they may be able to do the same with Gandhism. Whether they will be able to stem the tide to Islam is still to be seen.

It remains now to be said that not only the Occidental world has produced secularism; that also goes for the others. Gandhism certainly has its metaphysics, but of such a kind that it would also be acceptable to the agnostic and atheist, as Gandhi himself points out. Personally, I would tend to see Gandhism as so similar to Buddhism that the substantive classification might be under Buddhism, not under Hinduism, for historical reasons.

The particular amalgams associated with contemporary China and contemporary Japan have been referred to here as “Maoism” and “Japanism” respectively, but only in so far as it is understood that in both of them there is a heavy admixture of Occidental faiths; Christianity in both cases, liberalism in both of them, and then Marxism in the case of Maoism. Characteristically, there is no name of any individual that could be attached to what is here referred to as “Japanism.” In a truly collectivist country there should be no such name either.

In conclusion let it only be pointed out that neither Islam nor pure Buddhism have given rise to major secular ideologies. This is certainly not because they are incompatible with social teachings, probably rather because they are so compatible with them (as will be pointed out later) that there is less need for a secular ideology. That need may come tip later because of certain tensions to be explored; it may also take the form that it takes today of simply importing Occidental or amalgamated Oriental ideologies. But so far one may perhaps pay some attention to the circumstance that it is the most and the least “religious”) in the classical sense of being “personal god” and “individual salvation” oriented) religions that give rise to secular ideologies; the former because of contradictions, the latter because of compatibilities. I would sustain the thesis that Maoism and Japanism grew out of Chinese and Japanese soil with considerable ease philosophically (if not socially), whereas the Occidental ideologies had to fight their way through, and at the expense of retaining, the singularism and universalism of Occidental religions. And that marks them till this very day, as seen in the East-West conflict between two mutually exclusive ideologies claiming universal validity.

Religions as Carriers of Political Messages

Deliberately I have formulated this section in terms of “political messages,” not merely “social messages.” By the former I mean something more than the latter: there is a message about what to do and why one should do it which would be characteristic of a social message with its image of the future and its analysis of present and

past. But there is also a message of how to do it, who should do it, when and where - more or less explicit, more or less concrete. It is these last four components that define the difference between political and social analysis, because actors are designated, it is made space and time specific, and in addition there is something about the methodology, the tactics, the "how." With seven major religious systems (Judaism, Christianity and Islam, then Hinduism, and then pure Buddhism, and the Chinese and Japanese amalgams) and six dimensions to what is here referred to as a "political message" we could in principle develop a table with 42 entries. However, there are simpler ways than that somewhat laborious exercise.

Thus, one very key difference would be between religions with transcendental utopias and religions without. It is inevitable, inescapable that conceptualizations of paradise will have some political carry over effects on utopian political thought: utopias will tend to be mundane reflections of heaven, dystopias to be reflections of hell only that the latter may surpass the most wicked imagination of what hell could be like and the former not quite live up to the most eloquent description of paradisiacal delights. But this has one very important consequence: both utopia and dystopia "ill tend to become extreme, inspired by images of the transcendental they will tend to be distant from usual empirical reality. And that again has a consequence: in order to attain utopia a basic change is needed, some type of discontinuity, a quantum jump, a revolution.

That revolution, however, does not have to be a collective revolt, like in Marxist eschatology of one class against another. It can also be an individual revolting against his or her own past, as in the Christian paradigm for conversion; assuming that if a sufficiently high number of individuals do so then there would be a cumulative effect also in this world. The gap between the empirical and the potential can only be bridged through a highly dramatic time cosmology with a crisis (apocalyptic) that will usher in either the final *Endzustand* (catharsis) or hell on earth, *Vernichtung*. And that already gives the answer to the question of *when*: when time is

ripe, when the final judgment is about to come. Seen this way, Marxism is so fundamentally Christian!

There will also be a fairly clear conceptualization of who will be the carriers of the new times: not all those who are called upon, only those who are selected. And they will have to fight against those who were and are on the other side, the non-repenting sinners. Where does this take place? All over the world. And how? Through the fight between good and evil on earth, but also through the intervention of higher forces. But it is all worth it, for on the other side is an utopia, quite concrete as it is described in the Bible and in the Koran: a society of, for and by the saved, with no discrepancy between needs and the means available for their satisfaction - in the Christian paradise because the needs seem to be non-material and there are plenty of spiritual resources around; in the Muslim paradise because needs are also material but with ample means of satisfaction easily available.

Not so for the religions with no transcendental utopias and dystopias, except as metaphors. To the extent they are inspired by Buddhism, they will all embody the idea of self-perfection by working on oneself so as to develop right belief, right thought, right speech, and right conduct. But since these are not specified in a very concrete manner in Buddhism, and do not refer to obedience to a higher being, this leaves much around for interpretation. For what has been said so far there is only one conclusion that perhaps can be drawn, tentatively: the good society would be the society where this is possible, and more particularly the society where it is possible for small groups to work together, inspiring and helping each other on the Path of Right Behavior. One conclusion to be drawn from this would be relatively small communities that are self-sufficient enough to leave the members with sufficient time for this type of spiritual pursuit. Obviously there are Mahāyāna countries that have not drawn this conclusion: Japan is not particularly small in terms of the group with which it requires the Japanese to identify, Japan itself. China is not particularly small either, although it is not necessarily true that all Chinese are requested to identify with China as a whole.

So much about the normative content of the religious teachings, the ideas and visions. Such visions command, they are expressions of normative power. But there are also the other basic kinds of power: remunerative power and coercive power; the power of the carrot and the power of the stick. Put in very simple terms: goods and services on the one hand, their production and distribution; the various types of violence on the other. Whether they are seen as an end or seen as a means towards an end, the level of economic growth and of distribution are important factors in any social ideology and reality, and so are the levels of direct violence and of structural violence built into the society. The question is how the religions relate to these four: (material) *growth*, *distribution*, *direct violence* and *structural violence*. In very limited usages of the terms, “growth” is identified with *development*, and “absence of direct violence” with *peace* - thereby bringing in the two key words of contemporary concerns, the two pillars on which the United Nations construction, ideologically speaking, rests. But in a somewhat more extended usage of these two words, “development” would also include some measure of distribution, and “peace” would also include ideas of absence of structural violence, particularly when it refers to the suppression of ethnic and/or racial minorities, or groups defined by age, gender and class. Hence, these would be four key dimensions to explore in search for the explicit or implicit social teachings of the key religions. Ideally, the religions should be rated on a scale from minus 10 to plus 10 on all four dimensions, or something like that. Clearly this is impossible. All that will be done here is to divide religions in two groups, those that favor the idea and those that do not favor it, or favor it less; “high” and “low.”

When it comes to growth I would be inclined to put both Hinduism and Buddhism in the latter category, as being less in favor of material growth; Hinduism because of the strong influence of the notion of *karma* and the general rigidity of the social structure sanctioned by the religious thought, Buddhism because of the avowed low level of concern with mundane matters beyond that which is needed for reproduction, so as to be able to engage fully in the pursuit of higher levels of consciousness. I would also tend

to place Islam in this category because of its famous doctrine against interest. As in Hinduism there is a clear place for traders or, if one wants, for commercial capitalism in the system - the Koran even being seen by many as a codification of rules of conduct, rights and duties, for decent exercise of the trading profession. But industrial capitalism would tend to require for investment larger amounts of capital than the amounts merchants could make available through trading - the alternative being loans to be obtained at a price, the price also being known as interest.

It may be objected that this can easily be circumvented, either by conceiving of the interest as a "service fee," or by accumulating capital through trading (for instance in oil) to the point where this investment can be undertaken. This is what is happening today in several Muslim countries. However, it only touches the point at the surface. There is probably a much deeper reluctance against industrialism in Islam, expressing itself, among other places, in the doctrine against interest. And it may well be that this is what is currently being observed in Muslim countries: not that factories are not coming up, but that they are bought wholesale, with the key in the door, and not built up by an eager body of risk-taking entrepreneurs, and technicians, and skilled workers, anxious to get to the work. Thus, to the extent that economic growth is based on industrialism I would tend to be skeptical and not put Islam in the upper category where growth is concerned. And I would tend to believe that the factories in the Muslim/OPEC region would be of minor significance in the world economy.

In that upper category, one would obviously have both Judaism and Christianity, and for the latter both the Protestant and Catholic variety. Three famous books exist to prove, at least to the satisfaction of the authors, that one or the other of these three provides the basic background for economic growth: Max Weber for Protestantism, Amintore Fanfani for Catholicism and Kurt Samuelsson for Judaism. The arguments are fascinating; it is an intra-Occidental battle among giants. In this connection, however, the focus is on placing them in the upper category on the world scale, being less concerned with who should have the first prize.

More interesting, however, is that in the upper category one would also have to place the oriental amalgams, the Chinese and Japanese systems of faith. Some of the implicit reasoning has been given above, particularly for the Japanese system, so it will not be repeated here. In a sense, those arguments might sound much more convincing than the type of argumentation Weber puts together for the position of Protestantism, particularly for the puritan sects within Protestantism: that it is related to the basic anxiety about salvation and the idea that success in this world is a pointer to success in the other world, hence a relief for the anxious. That God should express his inclinations about salvations for certain individuals on earth through the stock market is strange. It seems to me deeply unchristian, but then there is no reason why Christians should necessarily only harbor Christian faith. However, that may be, there is one very basic point missing in Weber's reasoning: it may give some motivation to the entrepreneurs but not the workers who would read their misery as a sign of God's utter dissatisfaction with them, and thereby be even more unmotivated to contribute to any kind of economic growth. The Oriental amalgams avoid or at least alleviate such problems, not by cutting out misery or relative deprivation of the working class, but by at least not making capitalist, entrepreneurial activity something close to a sacred act, and honest ordinary work a meaningless activity. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, individuals are coupled ethically together in such a way that it is the collectivity, not the individual that is rewarded or punished because of the acts of individuals - the *ethical collective budget*.

What then about the *distribution* dimension? Distribution is a question of a floor and a ceiling where goods and services are concerned; of avoiding the extremes in distribution, or guaranteeing a certain minimum and trying to institutionalize a maximum. In the modern welfare state this is done, in principle, by taxing the rich and establishing subvention mechanisms for the satisfaction of basic needs for those in misery, so as to end up with a population between floor and ceiling, in the *home* of the people, like in a family.

I think it is fair to say that the doctrine of the Middle Way in Buddhism is a doctrine of ceiling and floor. It was not only directed against the excesses in accumulation of riches found in Hindu society, but also against the misery, including the self-imposed misery through extreme asceticism. In Hinduism there were and are no clear minimum or maximum. In this regard, Hinduism is not in-between and not similar to Buddhism, the two are each other's extreme opposite. This characteristic of Buddhism, then, is felt to penetrate the whole Orient, but certainly more or less so depending on religious and other contexts. Its concrete expression would be in low and relatively constant indicators for income distribution.

What about the Occidental religions? The accumulation of riches at the top of society, and at the disposal of individuals and individual families rather than at the disposal of organizations and communities (like Japanese capital) would be telling evidence that whatever dictum there might be against such accumulation ("not on earth where moth and rust ---") they are not necessarily adhered to in practice. But there may be concrete rules establishing floors. In Islam, for instance, there is the rule to the effect that one should not sit down and eat if one is not assured that the twelve to the left and to the right of one's own house has sufficient to eat - a doctrine that, if practiced, would abolish hunger. In Judaism, there are similar doctrines. And in Christianity there is the tale of the Good Samaritan, alleviating pain and misery. Of course, the Islamic doctrine is more easily practiced in a local community, one reason why "Khomeinism" also seems to be localism.

But that tale, in my view, is ambiguous. Why should Christians engage in good deeds if they are not meritorious, bringing that Samaritan closer to salvation? And if that is the case, then why should one abolish misery? Would it not be much more rational to institutionalize misery so that there would always be a sufficient number of sufficiently poor people among us whose misery could become the raw material to be processed into salvation by others? And would that not point in favor of an implicit or explicit alliance between Christianity and capitalism since the latter is based on inequalities, and through the joint working of center-periphery

formation and class formation is guaranteed to produce misery at the bottom' In other words, a clear case of symbiosis?

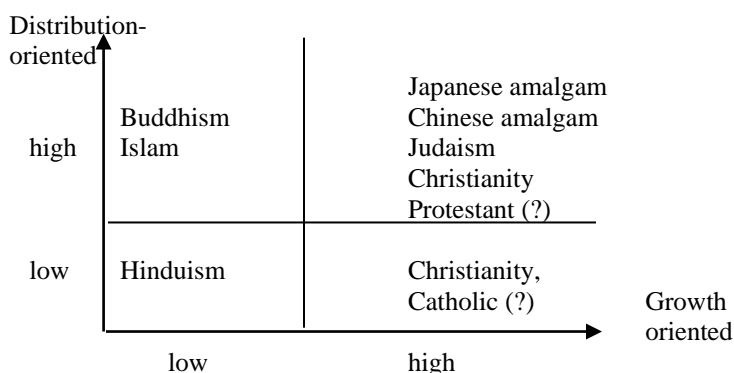
The answer might seem to be yes, at least so far as Christian doctrine acknowledges good deeds as meritorious. This is less true for Protestantism where, according to doctrine, salvation is by faith alone, not by acts. The question is whether Protestants less theologically trained really believe in this and do not think that in God's book up in heaven there will nevertheless be pluses and minuses for what one does, not only for what one thinks. But to the extent that Catholicism/ Protestantism is related to the salvation-through-deeds/salvation-through-faith dilemma in theology Catholic countries might see the problem of a floor in economic distribution more related to *caritas*, Good Samaritans, where Protestant countries might be less interested in this perspective and more concerned with spreading the gospel. This, then, could lead either way: both to Protestant acceptance of much more misery, and to the institutionalization of its abolition through welfare state constructions. As usual, it should be noted that I am not suggesting that religion plays the key causal role here, I am only in search of compatibilities.

Grossly simplified, only as a rule of thumb, the reflections above would lead to the following characterization of religions in terms of economical variables:

A corresponding exploration can now be made for the violence system. To start with *direct violence*: there seem to be two factors that would predispose for violence when built into the very nucleus of the system of religious faith. First, there is the idea of being a *Chosen People* which could instill in believers a very high level of self-righteousness. This does not mean that it has to be practiced, or enacted, or, if enacted, necessarily in the form of direct violence. It could also take the form of withdrawal from the rest of the world simply because one is too good for the world, simply because the rest of the world is too barbarian to be even worthy of an attack. In what has been said above two clearly Chosen People emerge: the Jews and the Japanese, with some carry-over effects from Judaism into Christianity and Islam, and with the Chinese having at least a superiority complex relative to others, to

barbarians, although less clearly aggressive. It may, perhaps, be more of the withdrawal variety, leading to defensive rather than offensive strategies politically and militarily in what the Chinese historically seem to consider their pocket in the world.

Figure 3: Religion as a Factor for the Economic System



The second dimension would be that of *aggressive missionarism*. There is a difference between being adherent of a faith which one considers right and worthy of spreading to others, and that of living under a *divine command* to spread the faith, if necessary by packing up the message through the skillful use of coercive (force) and remunerative coercive power, the carrot and the stick again. The Occidental religions Christianity and Islam clearly fall in this category, Judaism less so for the reasons mentioned. The missionary command is the logical consequence of singularism *cum* universalism, as expressed in *Matthew*, 28: 18-20. That those religions also are monotheistic is, in my view, of secondary significance, but their uniqueness is possibly strengthened by there being only one god (which is not true, *strictu sensu*, for Christianity).

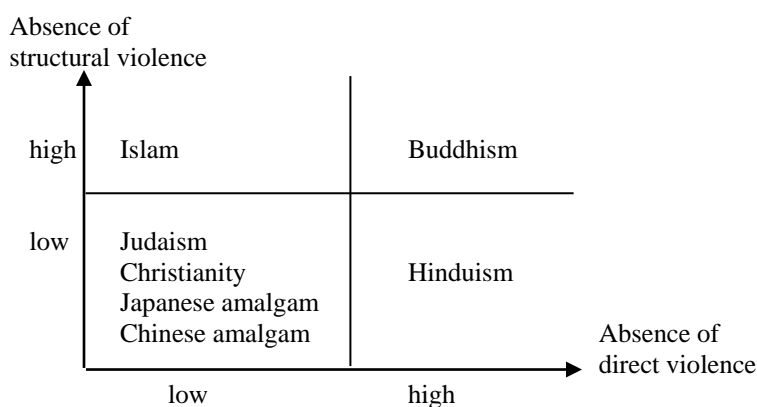
Structural violence is so much related to distribution in the economic sense that the division of the religions would tend to be the same. At the bottom, of course, is Hinduism with its religiously sanctioned caste system. Buddhism and the systems related to it come out much more clearly against structural violence; and it is

not clear that slavery at the hands of the Arabs was religiously legitimized in the same way as slavery at the hands of the Europeans.

But what about Christianity and its predecessor, Judaism? It may be argued that in both of them there is an element of imperialism, clearly seen in Judaism as originally conceived of, and in Christianity as it became not only in the “modern period” with the Catholic Kings establishing their empires and the Protestants following very quickly, but also when Christianity was the state religion of the Roman Empire. That other peoples are “pagan” would in itself be sufficient reason to colonize them, legitimized by the idea of being better able to carry out missionary activities. Liberation could then be granted proportionate to the extent to which adherence to Christianity was reported; if not it had to be fought through direct violence directed against the structural violence of imperialist colonialism. At this point it is difficult to discover any great difference between Catholics and Protestants except that the latter came later so colonial decline and disintegration also came later (except for the Portuguese). In both we find religious legitimization for being “people-holder” (colonialist) not only slaveholder; on top of the horrors of inquisition (Catholic) and witch processes (Catholic/Protestant).

If we now summarize all of this we arrive at a picture, again grossly simplified:

Figure 4: Religion as a Factor for the Violence System



We can now summarize what has been said in this section about the eight religions (we split Christianity into two) and the four dimensions in Figure 5.

Quite clearly, the characterizations are too gross to reflect the tremendous variation in the real world. However, of the sixteen possible patterns in terms of high and low only five have been used - possibly because the variety is not that high in the empirical world, at least not when one is forced to paint with a broad brush. It should be noted that the extreme patterns are not present: there is no religion known for both aspects of economic development and both aspects of peaceful development. Nor, of course, is there any religion that would denounce all these four efforts. Religion has to be positive in some regard, has to express what people want in this world at least at some point. And people work, at least in most places most of the time, for welfare and survival, "economic development" and "peaceful development" as it is called here.

If one now looks at Figure 5, simply reading it off, it is at least compatible with what one finds in the real world. On the one hand, there are the big spaces of the world focusing on *growth*: the Judaic Christian and the Sino-Japanese spaces; on the other hand the Islamic-Hindu-Buddhist spaces where this focus is much less prominent. And that would also apply to the religions left out of this exploration; the Amerindian, African and Pacific spaces. So here is already a first major division, within what until recently has often been referred to as the "modern/traditional" distinction.

The moment one then introduces *distribution* the images change. In the growth-oriented spaces, Catholic Christianity stands out as less distribution oriented than the others. And in the less growth oriented spaces there clearly is a distinction between Hinduism, which in addition does not emphasize distribution, and Islam and Buddhism that do. Growth may be important as a means of abolishing *poverty*, but distribution is much more important as a means of abolishing *misery*. According to this, the most pronounced misery in the world should be found in the Catholic and Hindu regions, particularly the latter - when explorations are

limited to the religions here considered. Under Islam and Buddhism, misery should be much less pronounced. On the other

Figure 5: Religion as a Factor: A Summary

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Growth</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Absence of direct violence</u>	<u>Absence of structural violence</u>	<u>No. of "high"</u>
Judaism	high	high	low	low	2
Christianity, Protestant	high	high	low	low	2
Christianity, Catholic	high	low	low	low	1
Islam	low	high	low	high	2
Hinduism	low	low	high	low	1
Buddhism, pure	low	high	high	high	3
Chinese amalgam	high	high	low	low	2
Japanese amalgam	high	high	low	low	2

hand, due to the general lack of growth orientation poverty might nevertheless abound.

Again, the picture changes when one introduces the dimension of *violence*. It sounds so positive when a system of faith is "high" on both growth and distribution; it becomes less applaudable when this combination is accompanied by direct and even structural violence, i.e., exploitation/repression in one form or the other. It has been mentioned that in the Chinese case such attempts tend to be limited to what might be called "Sino space," but recent excursions into Korean, Vietnamese and Tibetan territory makes one at least wonder exactly where the limits of that space are

located. Possibly Tibet is included, Korean and Vietnamese territories not. Japanese militarism had the Great East Asian Co-prosperity Hemisphere as its “domain,” and again it is unclear where the borderlines would be located. Great portions of the Pacific were included, so was all of Southeast Asia and not only East Asia. Australia and New Zealand might have been had they not been more difficult to conquer.

However that may be, the Chinese and Japanese domains are clearly not universal; universality applies to Christianity and Islam only and no longer to Judaism. In the Table, that important distinction does not appear. It should also be pointed out how Catholic Christianity might build systems somewhat different from Protestant Christianity because of the lower emphasis on distribution in the former. In Catholic empires there might be as much misery at the bottom of the Centre country at the bottom of the Periphery country; under Protestant colonialism there might be more distribution on the top - the colonized peoples, the pagans, not being equally included in the distribution exercise.

Islam is seen as different: less growth oriented and often also less exploitative although there are exceptions to this rule, such as Southern Sudan in contemporary Africa. In general, one might perhaps assume that less emphasis on economic growth also leads to less emphasis on structural violence as the consequence of, or protected by, direct violence. There certainly may be direct violence as such, belligerence, but not just in order to establish economic exploitation. And there may be structural violence unaccompanied by direct violence, or as the result of direct violence in the distant past (the case of Hinduism) where exploitation certainly takes place but inside the community itself, so well institutionalized that it is combinable even with rejection of direct violence (*♣ānti*).

That rejection one also finds in Buddhism where rejection also applies to structural violence and combines in a way that makes for the least aggressive combination. That combination, on the other hand, is not “modern”: it is low on economic growth. And it is vulnerable unless it is protected by a very strong faith.

I think it is difficult to conclude this section without some explicit evaluation. Most objectionable, according to this scheme of thinking, are Christianity (both versions) and Hinduism; the former because of its universally applied direct and structural violence, the latter because of the massive structural violence directed against its own members, accompanied by flagrant inequalities (as is also the case in much of Christianity). The Christian countries stand out as “progressive” relative to India only because they have managed to export inequality and inequity through imperial practices, and because they have managed to make the nation state itself the accounting unit of economic and social achievement, not the whole system, the whole web of which the nation state may be a centre. But this does not exonerate Hinduism: its victims in that colossal part of humankind are so many, both in absolute and relative terms, that it is not strange if *pariahs* and *dras* resort to the obvious way out: converting away from Hinduism. On that sub-continent the competitors would be Christianity (particularly Catholic) and Islam, and particularly, the latter seems now to receive a high number of converts seeking *religio* through faiths less destructive of their life on earth, and more promising for their life afterwards.

At the other end, I would argue in favor of Buddhism, pure version, as the faith most compatible with the ideas and ideals implicit in Figure 5. It becomes *modest* in combining low concern with growth and high concern with absence of direct violence; it becomes decent in combining a relatively high level of equality with a relative high level of equity, except in perverted Buddhism. But cannot this be said about all faiths, that there are the pure versions and the perverted versions, and the latter considerably less beautiful than the former? I would argue against that position, maintaining that Christianity and Islam, for instance, have built into them certain attitudes to the non-believer that can be used to justify both direct and structural violence, and that this is not found in Buddhism; just as it can be argued that Hinduism has built into it certain patterns directed against those at the bottom of the hierarchy, and that is not found in Buddhism either.

I end up with the conclusion in the right hand column of Figure 5. It should only be added that if “pure” Buddhism should somehow assimilate an ideology of economic growth (easily done in the Chinese and Japanese amalgams), then that might change the relationship to violence, ushering in a much lower level of rejection of both direct and structural violence.

Conclusion: Some Remarks on Secularism

The conclusion of the preceding section is that it would be hard to argue that religion is not a rather important factor in connection with economic and social development, almost regardless of how these two are conceived. Some of that relation has to do with compatibility and incompatibility between religious structures and the processes associated with the economic and social development; it is a quite direct relationship. But there is also an indirect relationship: as indicated in Figure 1 above there is a relation between religious and secular ideologies. Seven such secularisms are indicated in the figure, including the intellectually less developed social democracy, locating it somewhere after Liberalism and Marxism. Let us then try to repeat the exercise of Figure 5, in Figure 6.

One can now approach this Figure in at least two ways: comparing the secular offspring with the religious basis, and comparing the various secularisms with each other. I shall try to do both in the following exploration. *Liberalism* is seen as taking off with a high note on just one point: economic growth. I think that is a fair judgment. It was simply not concerned with distribution, absence of direct or structural violence but saw inequality, inequity and violence as somehow “nature,” as expressions of the law of the jungle, in its extreme form as Social Darwinism. In that sense Liberalism was lagging behind certain Christian teachings, and it could be argued that the relationship between capitalism and Christianity would be more filled with friction in Protestant than in Catholic countries, for that reason.

Marxism was a reaction against Liberalism, but only up to a certain point. Basic to the doctrine was a rejection of a special kind

Figure 6: Secularism as a Factor: A Summary

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Growth</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Absence of direct violence</u>	<u>Absence of structural violence</u>	<u>No. of “high”</u>
Liberalism	high	low	low	low	1
Marxism	high	high	low	(high)/low	2
Social democracy	high	high	high	low	3
Anarchism	low	high	(low)/high	high	3
Gandhism	low	high	high	high	3
Maoism	high	high	low	high	3
Japanism	high	high	low	low	2

of structural violence, relating to the ownership of means of production. That led to transformation of societies, and was compatible with a higher level of distribution, to the point of abolishing misery. But three comments immediately have to be added: that precise abolition of structural violence was so precise that new inequitable structures could easily emerge to the left and to the right; the revolution held necessary was at the expense of applying direct violence, which then becomes an acceptable phenomenon; and the ideology of growth was not challenged. As a net result, the differences are not that big between Liberalism and Marxism. Distribution is better, structural violence not; except in that very particular sense mentioned.

Social democracy, although a very poorly developed ideology - among other reasons because it has no metaphysics, no *Geist* - can be seen as reaction to both Liberalism and Marxism. It retains the concern with economic growth, is a corrective to Liberalism by being much more concerned with distribution, and a

corrective to Marxism by rejecting direct violence as a social instrument while at the same time remaining very unsophisticated in connection with structural violence. Negotiations, backed up with strikes, social partnership between sellers and buyers of labor, and technocratic rule become the major formulas. The three are then, together, adding up to the profile indicated in Figure 6, reflecting also the rejection of violence by social democracy. In fact, no country ruled by social democrats ever engaged in aggressive warfare.

If we now jump in Figure 6 to Maoism and Japanism they are simply the completely secularized expressions of the Chinese and Japanese amalgams respectively, themselves rather secularized; but with one notable exception. I think it is correct to say that Maoism has a very strong stand against structural violence in general, not only in the narrow Marxist sense. The whole Maoist conception of contradictions, of each social formation giving rise to some new type of class formation that in turn has to be fought through a permanent (or “intermittent”) revolution, is an expression of this.

In the middle, then, are two secularisms that are quite similar, one of them with Occidental, the other with Oriental (and Hindu) roots. They differ from all the others in being much less growth oriented and, very much related to this, small scale oriented. They both reject inequality and inequity within and between these small units. In addition to this Gandhism rejects direct violence as a means to establish and maintain these self-reliant Units, Satyāgrāha and Sarvodaya becoming inseparable. But anarchism came last century in two versions, one non-violent and one highly violent - the latter is the one used by some journalists when contemporary terrorism is branded as “anarchist,” although their ideology may be more Marxist. At this point there may actually be some interesting connections between the Western branch of anarchism and Catholic Christianity on the one hand and the Eastern branch of anarchism and the milder Christianity on the other. Both Liberalism and Marxism seem to be much more ecumenical in their relations to the various branches of Christianity, being compatible with all three of them. The

particular Marxism found in the Soviet Union, however, can hardly be understood without reference to orthodox Christianity.

Thus it seems relatively clear that there is a linkage between religion and secular ideology, and that there is a linkage between secular ideology and processes of economic and social development. Hence, once more the thesis that religion is a rather relevant factor seems not only confirmed but obvious, trivial. And one could now conclude with the same exercise as at the end of the last section; which of these ideologies are better, which ones are worse? Four of them have actually been marked “3” in Figure 6; what does this mean?

In a sense not very much since there are important problems relating to all four of them, all of them of the same kind: a certain lack of social context. *Anarchism* not only preaches social islands, it is itself an island in an ocean of growth and expansionism. It should be remembered that Marxism and Liberalism became non-transcendental but retained both the singularism and the universalism of Occidental religions. The world state is the logical structural expression of these two major pillars of Occidentalism, not a world federation of relatively self-reliant, potentially highly pluralistic communities. Anarchism stands alone in this tradition of secular, Occidental thought.

Social democracy accepts growth and expansionism, but has probably gone too far in becoming secular, to the point of being totally non-transcendental, without any *mystique*. Precisely because social democratic utopia is so attainable (*vide* the Nordic countries) it is rejected: it holds no transcendental promise at all. There is no metaphysical context; paradise is too obtainable. There is nothing beyond on the other side - hence the beating to which Sweden, as *Prugelknabe* for this tradition, is exposed.

This is not the problem of *Gandhism*, nor is it bothered by a context of singularism and universalism. But it remains without roots for another reason: it has sprung of Hindu soil, but has been rejected by Hinduism presumably because of its concerns with equality and equity. As a profile, it matches Buddhism perfectly and may one day become the social doctrine of Buddhism, after many modifications adapting to local circumstances have been

made. That process has probably come furthest in Sri Lanka. But this means that it has to go abroad, which in itself is a difficult operation because roots to the golden past, including *Gandhi here, on this earth*, no longer exist.

And precisely the opposite obtains for *Maoism*: it cannot go abroad. It is closely linked to the particular Chinese amalgam out of which it came, with some Occidental admixtures. It may be a source of inspiration but perhaps nothing more, for in no other place in the world does one find the particular cosmological blend that has been produced within the Sino space.

This may sound like a pessimistic conclusion but is not necessarily so. What it says is mainly that there is very much work to be done, and much of this work is ideological. The present exercise surveys the field. The task is to go beyond it.

REFERENCES

The Bible, The Koran, The Talmud, /gveda, The Upani•ads, Bhagavad G•tā, and The Dhammapada.

**SEMINAR REPORT (First Seminar):
BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE**

All First Seminar Participants

We come together from several parts of the world as persons dedicated to peace. We gather to examine how Buddhism can contribute to processes of leadership and participation that will transform obstacles to peace into positive factors to facilitate its realization. Some of us are Buddhists of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna traditions (including Son, Zen, and Nichiren Shōshū), some of us draw inspirations from other religious faiths, including Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Some are secular humanists with religious awareness. Some are experienced leaders and participants in seeking to mobilize the will and resources of millions of fellow human beings to realize conditions of peace, socioeconomic justice and freedom. Still others are scholarly researchers and teachers in the humanities and social sciences who seek to discover new knowledge and to engage oncoming generations in awareness and advancement of it. Some of us combine several of these in our life's work. All care deeply for peace and are willing to engage in serious dialogues from different perspectives to identify paths toward common goals of universal peace with justice.

I. The Idea of Peace

We agree that true peace lies in unity of negative and positive conditions. That is, peace means both the absence of war and other forms of life-taking plus the presence of conditions of political, economic, social, and cultural justice. Conditions of oppression and impoverishment maintained by threat of violence, even if without civil or international war, cannot be considered truly peaceful.

In realizing the goal of global peace, certain priorities are discernible. One of these eliminating the threat of nuclear war through such means as declaring that no first use/strike will be made; stopping the production, testing, and deployment of nuclear weapons; reducing stockpiles of nuclear weapons; and transforming global nuclear weapons-based security systems into national territorial, purely defensive security systems based upon non-provocative, non-nuclear armaments or nonviolent social defense. While the war system is a totality, relatively disassociated efforts must be made to remove its most destructive and provocative components.

Some of us believe that global peace with justice and freedom can be achieved while maintaining truly defensive national armed forces. At least one participant suggests that this would constitute a kind of Violent Global Peace, maintained by threat of lethal force to resolve intra-national and international conflicts. Others suggest that reliance upon lethality as an ultimate arbiter would make it unlikely that true conditions of liberty and economic equity could be achieved. Preferable as an explicit goal for which to strive would be conditions of Nonviolent Global Peace in which values are pursued and conflicts are resolved without threat or use of killing force, but through nonviolent processes of problem-solving. But purely defensive systems might be a transition to a truly Nonviolent Global Peace and at any rate would be far preferable to what we have today.

II. Obstacles to Peace

In a group effort to identify obstacles to peace we called attention to more than twenty factors that ranged from the war-prone actions of a single national leader such as the then-President of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, to the global structural of world militarization.

They included:

1. *human capabilities for destruction* such as the ability (not necessity) of humans to become killers and torturers;
2. *motivations and emotions*, especially greed, hatred, and ignorance; fear and mistrust; and the power drives of leaders;
3. *divisive ideologies that justify violence and oppression*, including religions, political “isms,” nationalism, militarism, racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism;
4. *material conditions of inequality and exploitation*, especially the military-industrial complex expressed in a global network of militarization, economic inequity and unemployment, and scarce resources;
5. *institutions that commend and reinforce violence* such as the mass media (including sexual sadism in pornographic films) and systems of education (including universities that resist reforms for peace);
6. *atrocities that evoke counter-violence* such as torture, murder, kidnappings, terrorism, assassinations, and other violations of human rights, including economic violence in which the rich overeat while the poor die of malnutrition; and

7. *peace movement divisiveness*, the inability of workers for peace to cooperate in a global effort to realize the political will to abolish war and to affirm peace with justice.

It was said that the making of lists, as well as the use of technical terminology, was itself an obstacle to peace. It was observed that not making lists could also be an obstacle. To make or not make peace implies both a sense of wholeness and ability to distinguish conditions of peace from those of war.

Johan Galtung contributes a “very short list of factors that inhibit peacefulness”:

1. It is not human nature, which shows tremendous variations from peacefulness to peacefulness. The obstacles are located in certain cultures and structures.
2. As to *culture*: most problematic are the cultures that are singularist and universalist, having found one single truth, not only for themselves but for the whole world, and feeling it is not only their right but their duty to spread the message ail over the world. To me this is characteristic of Occidental religions and their secular offspring. The combination of singularism with particularism is also very much of an obstacle; it has a connotation of being a chosen people (Jews, Japanese).¹
3. As to *structure*: most problematic are the structures that have no effective stop signal for personal level consumption and collective level growth, and hence continue expanding. In order to expand they have to become very open systems, receiving inputs from abroad, and marketing outputs to abroad in return, thereby transforming personal interests into national interests and national interests into their own global interests.

¹ A member objects that “the Jews or for that matter the Japanese should not be singled out. I doubt that their histories are all that much more warlike than other cultures.”

4. As to *culture and structure*: most problematic is the combination of the two circumstances mentioned; best would be their negation. An Occidental culture combined with a capitalist structure is particularly dangerous; the negation much more promising. A world of Buddhist Eskimos would probably be a very peaceful world. But it is not the world in which we live.

III. Buddhism and Peace

What contributions can Buddhism make to overcoming obstacles to peace? In simplest terms, since Buddhists view violence and war as arising out of “greed, hatred, and ignorance,” what is needed is a way out of these conditions. Robert Aitken suggests a path for peaceful Buddhist transformation as follows:

Greed: “I want to possess that” *becomes*
Charity: “I will let that possess me.”

Hatred: “I want to close myself” *becomes*
Love: “I will open myself.”

Ignorance: “I want concepts to guide me” *becomes*
Wisdom: “I will let understanding guide me.”²

² A member questions whether in this “I ... I” transformation it is “problematic for a true Buddhist to accept the continuing existence of ‘I’.” Robert Aitken explains, “In Buddhist practice, we are not trying to get rid of the ego, for ego is self-image. I am always telling my students that | ākyamuni had a big ego. He knew who he was, and what he had to do. Rather we are trying to get rid of ego-centeredness.

Unless I have a secure ego, I can do nothing well, for I cannot rid myself of self-consciousness as I do it. Forgetting the self in an act is essential in any accomplishment, as for example, on stage, on the playing field, or making love. The unselfconscious ego is the avatar of the Buddha.

The process of learning to be self-confident in the basic Mahāyāna sense (‘This very body is the Buddha’) is the practice of taking the vows personally. It is not that we vow to save all beings, but I vow to take that responsibility myself. In this context, ‘I’ is concrete, and ‘we’ is abstract. This is the most humbling of practices, because it is the most responsible one.

Since we are what we think, if we think peace, speak peace and act peace - and follow the Buddhist principle of non-killing - we become peaceful persons harmoniously strengthening conditions of peacefulness throughout the universe. Moreover, one does not need to be a “Buddhist” to make such a contribution. As those who think, speak and act peacefully multiply, the obstacles to peace will be gradually overcome. Relatively sudden collective transformations to peacefulness are also possible as evidenced by the rise of pacifism in some formerly militaristic but subsequently war-devastated nations, and by the rise of popular movements for peace in response to threat of nuclear holocaust. In sum, humans have an inherent capability to liberate themselves from violence, individually and collectively.³ Teachers, like Buddha, bodhisattvas, and exemplars in other faiths show the way. Buddhism teaches that all beings are capable of peaceful transformation and that we can help one another in this process.

The Buddhist virtues of universal friendliness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), celebration (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*) provide a bridge to overcome obstacles to peace on a large social scale. Friendliness means encompassing all, even enemies, in the circle of benevolence. Compassion calls for identification with the suffering of all beings, with the victims of all systems of exploitation. It is a necessary precondition in work for social justice. Celebration of the joys of others provides another basis for global solidarity in work for peace. Every accomplishment in work for peace merits universal acclamation.

³ A member comments, “However, unless I am mistaken, I did not perceive a clear recognition of the problem of the individual approach to peace - that is be converting or convincing individuals till enough are supportive or committed to peace and the collective approach represented by the use of political structures to gain peace. If we waited for sufficient numbers of individuals to become peaceful, it would be virtually endless. Also, the collective approach involves some self-contradictory aspects insofar as it may compel people to be peaceful. While this issue has no ready solution, it should be raised at least to avoid sentimentalism and utopianism, which ultimately defeats the problem by not recognizing its difficulty, though the report is well aware of the obstacles in the path of peace. At least its recognition might be helpful in sharpening strategies.”

Equanimity provides the basis for patient persistence in the tough work of peacemaking, enjoining calm moderation as against exhilaration or despair. These Buddhist virtues provide an antidote for greed, hatred, and ignorance by establishing a predisposition to accept the psychological and material changes that are necessary to shift from violence-based systems of injustice to peaceful conditions of existence. The transcendent yet completely engaged benevolence of Buddhism facilitates constructive work for peace even amidst war.

The Buddhist idea of the oneness of all things, animate and inanimate, provides a basis for work to overcome divisive ideologies and institutions as well as self-destructive assumptions of human superiority over nature. The Buddha nature resides in every person; in each atom or cell lies the universe. One act affects all creation; touch one point and every point in the cosmos shakes. In truth life is not a compartmentalized war machine, but rather a pacific whole. Buddhist work for peace therefore aims to overcome violent divisiveness by affirmation of nonviolent unity.

While affirming unity, Buddhism as a whole is not totalitarian. Buddhism offers not just one way but many ways to peace on earth. Buddhism stresses equality. It does not set up divisive boundaries; it liberates from race, color, creed, power, and arbitrary stands of beauty. It encompasses and accepts a wide variety of approaches and beliefs. It is generally tolerant and flexible, adapting itself within and across cultures. It is not uncomfortable with, and even promotes, diversity of doctrines, rituals, and beliefs. It has great capacity for value integration. It is noted that Buddhist drums, bells, chants, and other symbols have had an inspiring influence in international peace marches and demonstrations.

Peace is not only a goal but is also a process of becoming. Buddhism is like that, and can be a nonviolent catalyst for global transformation. The violence of the mind and the violence of material existence must both be changed by nonviolent means that will bring a harmony of inner and outer conditions of peacefulness.

While these attributes of Buddhism promise positive contributions to overcoming obstacles to peace, we realize that

historical studies of Buddhist experiences in specific contexts are necessary for added understanding. We must learn from successes and failures of developing Buddhist theory and practice for peace. Buddhism often seems to have aligned itself with violent and exploitive systems of political power.⁴ Sometimes Buddhism has been exploited for purposes of militarism, where detachment from transient existence is used to lessen soldierly fear of death. In light of this experience we need to develop the peaceful uses of Buddhism and to resist the military uses of Buddhism.

On the other hand, we need to reexamine, sometimes critically, Buddhist monastic withdrawal from violent and exploitive societies in favor of individual enlightenment and institutional survival. Through study of historical processes of Buddhist cooptation, withdrawal, survival, and service under varying conditions of violence and injustice we can better understand its potentials, as well as its limitations, for peaceful global transformation.

One hypothesis that merits attention is that when confronted with violent oppression, religions that initially stress universalism and nonviolence tend to change in the direction of particularism and violence. Also, it is suggested that we examine the various internal authority structures associated with the Buddhist faith to

⁴ A member wishes to *emphasize this* point: "In relation to Buddhism itself, the report *recognizes the* fact that there are potential problems in the Buddhist contribution due to historical factors. However, in order to avoid self-satisfaction among Buddhists, I think some of those problems should be brought out more clearly. For instance, the Mahāyāna Nirvāṇa Sūtra enunciates some ideas which permit the use of violence in defense of the faith. Since this text is enshrined in the symbol system as a primary authority for some groups and has been appealed to, it should be studied very closely. In Medieval Japan and in modern Japan [in Korea and other countries, too, ed.], Buddhists affirmed violence either in the form of monk soldiers to protect their own interests in the medieval age or as a modern support of nationalism. These do not negate Buddhist potentials for peace and, more than similar aspects in Christianity or Islam.

However, it does point to the problem of the relation of institutionalization and social acceptance of a religion and its potential for peace. The price of social acceptance frequently means the sacrifice of principles. Buddhism has been as prone to this as any other tradition."

see if these, as with other religions, have any influence upon Buddhist capacities for peacefulness. Furthermore, we are asked to explore peace implications of external Buddhist relations with institutions of the state.⁵ Since religions historically have been sources of conflict as well as peacemaking, it is asked if this has been true of Buddhism as well.

Furthermore, we are asked if the scope of Buddhism has been too large and not sufficiently specific in the past to provide effective guidance in the attainment of peace and socio-economic justice. Are its Oneness and Nothingness too vague for effective action? Or is it just this empty universality that encourages responsive acts of compassion for peace and justice in widely varied specific settings? Are there needed public policy priorities between emptying the self and filling the universe with peace? If so, is this the task of leadership in politics and in other aspects of global life?

Although we were brought together by Buddhist benevolence, we were cautioned not to assume that Buddhism alone offers paths to peace. This would be a disservice to peaceful commitments and potentials of other faiths such as pacifist Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity. We were reminded that there are pacifist, nonviolent interpretations of virtually all religions that testify against militarism and war.

For example, Romola Morse reminds us that “the effectiveness of Gandhi’s peaceful leadership was largely due to his clear belief in *Advaita*, the unity of all life, based on the *Upanishads*. This belief, which he transmitted to the millions of India’s freedom-wagers, infused them with the faith and endurance to persist nonviolently through 30 years. Gandhi advocated, ‘I urge you and

⁵ A member explains that “in East Asia, Confucian morals have been absorbed into Buddhism inhibiting the formulation of an autonomous Buddhist ethic. The fusion of Buddhism and Confucianism which still widely exists in Asia may limit the potential of Buddhism to realize the ideals of peace since it accepts the hierarchical structure of society—in the past, usually forms of despotism. This needs to be studied. What relations has Buddhism had with the state in history apart from the ideal figures of Ashoka (India), Shōtoku Taishi (Japan) and of Song tsan gampo (Tibet) who are usually held up as the ideal?”

your families to meditate upon this truth each morning when you arise, and each night before you go to sleep: I must hate the wrong, but *not* the wrong-doer. In hating him, I would be hating myself. For, the same eternal spirit that dwells in me, dwells in him.' It was the internalization of this truth (*Satyā-grāha*) that gave life to precept, Ahi-sā, nonviolent action."

A task of leadership for peaceful global transformation will be to bring the peace powers of all religions into a creative, catalytic force. Buddhist tolerance can contribute much to this.

IV. Leadership for Peace

In essence, leadership means taking initiatives that are responded to supportively by others. Leadership for peace thus means taking initiatives to overcome obstacles that prevent realization of conditions of nonviolence and social justice. Initiators may be in formal positions of political authority, or they may be private persons who set examples that evoke the initiatives and cooperation of others.

In Buddhism, each one of us can be a leader in his or her own way. The idea that the Buddha nature lies within everyone can be a basis for evoking leadership contributions to peace from all human beings. Buddhist principles can be a guide for cultivating these qualities. Furthermore leaders of Buddhist communities should teach their people to work actively for peace as examples for, and in supportive cooperation with, others. Buddhist leadership for peace includes direct action by Buddhist organizations, cooperative action with other groups, and permeation of other institutions with Buddhist consciousness and ideas without sectarian identification.

Buddhist leadership for peace should be consistently nonviolent and use a wide variety of constructive means. The idea of nonviolence goes to the heart of Buddhist leader-follower relationships. Nonviolent Buddhist leader-follower relationships for peace must be more egalitarian and participative than is possible in violence-accepting religious leadership serving military authority. Whereas violence accepting leadership tends to be authoritarian, Buddhist leadership for peace needs to be totally

symbiotic, expressing the interdependence of all things. It should be a natural and trusting relationship, engaged in the world's work, accepting mutual interdependence and willing to engage in dialogue with all. If Buddhist authority relations, internally and in external relations, are not of this character they should be changed.

Buddhist leaders should reorient their organizations toward active support of the world peace movement. They should refuse to support or to be passively manipulated by global militarism. To be effective in specific social and economic contexts Buddhist leaders themselves need training in social science analysis and application of knowledge. The most effective work for peace combines both theory and action.

Effective Buddhist leadership for peace will translate peacefulness into terms that are useful and satisfying in everyday family life. From this basis, Buddhists should influence processes of political leadership recruitment, both democratic and otherwise, so that leaders for peace are elected or appointed. Furthermore, Buddhists should encourage mass popular support for the United Nations so that positive initiatives taken there to solve problems such as disarmament, economic justice, human rights, and viability of the biosphere can be backed by a peaceful global "political will." Through the concepts of universal compassion and celebration, Buddhist leadership can contribute to constructive global follower-ship for peace. This means expansion of people-to-people contacts and cooperative relationships all over the world.

In the process of developing effective Buddhist organizational work for peace, special care should be taken not to victimize individuals, or to make them scapegoats for the sake of the peace organization. As the universe is contained in a speck of sand, so world peace is to be found in each individual.

The leadership of leaders is also necessary for peacemaking. This means trying to exert more peaceful influences upon leaders who already identify with some form of Buddhism, as well as upon leaders of other religious faiths and secular humanists. In working with leaders for peace, Buddhists must realistically confront the fact that ideology is not the first consideration of most political

rulers. This is ambition for power that is expressed in terms of nationality, national interest, and nationalism. For Buddhists to be effective in peacemaking they must find ways to get antagonistic political leaders to meet, tell the truth, and listen to mutual fears and distrust.

Historical case studies of Buddhist peace efforts will contribute knowledge useful for effective action. It may be useful to distinguish between theological, ecclesiastical, and lay leaders. In the achievement of peaceful change there may be a progressive extension of ideas and action from theological leaders to ecclesiastical leaders and thence to lay leaders. The reverse process may also be possible under relatively less authoritarian conditions. An effective Buddhist peace movement would be one in which Buddhist theorists, leaders of temple communities, and leaders of lay organizations worked cooperatively to overcome obstacles to peace, with access to mass communications and with significant participation in non-Buddhist institutions.

Finally, it was suggested that “leadership” should be de-emphasized in work for peace and that popular participation should be stressed. Our overall theme might well be rephrased as “Buddhism and Participation for Peace.”

V. Buddhism and Leadership for Peace

We did not begin with a hypothesized set of relationships of how Buddhism and leadership could contribute to overcoming obstacles to peace. And we imposed no single definition of what is meant by Buddhism, or leadership, or peace. We earnestly invite each reader to shine the light of your own understanding into these three factors and how they are related. Growing out of our deliberations, some relationships are apparent.

Peace is the absence of violence plus the condition of social justice. Buddhism calls upon us to liberate ourselves from lethal emotions and oppressive attachments. All can lead and all can follow. The peaceful Buddha nature is within each person. Greed can become charity; hatred can become love; and ignorance can become wisdom.

It is true that human beings are capable of much cruelty and destruction. But it is also true that killers can be liberated from their lethality, partly by their own insights and partly by the influence of others. Examples are provided by former military figures who have renounced their former professions and have stepped forward as leaders for peace.

The power drives of leaders have undoubtedly been a source of, historical violence. Buddhism is correct in its analysis of the deleterious effect of ego attachments. But those power drives can only be satisfied by mass obedience and popular acquiescence. The massive Buddhist awakening of the leadership potential in all can make a contribution to undermining violent domination by the overwhelming egos of the few.

It is true that individual and group selfishness translates into divisive ideologies and organizations that separate humankind into lethally antagonistic collectivities. Against this, Buddhism asserts the inherent unity of all life, denies divisions, and rejects particularistic rationales for killing. Buddhist leadership reaches out in people-to-people relationships on a global scale. Buddhist follower-ship resonates to peaceful initiatives taken by leaders of any persuasion. Buddhist thought integrates the human and non-human community. The task of Buddhist leadership and participation is to confirm peaceful global unity through specific local actions.

Conditions of material inequality, exploitation, injustice and oppression challenge the peace efforts of Buddhists and of leaders of all persuasions. There is a tension between Buddhist assertion of the equal Buddha nature of all beings and massive material inequities within and between nations. The challenge to Buddhist leadership is to recognize this tension and to work to remove it in action as well as in theory. Buddhist compassion provides the basis for Buddhist leadership and follower-ship that is responsive to suffering throughout the world. But compassion without action is not enough.

The transformation of cultural and educational systems that reinforce the violence-prone conditions mentioned above is a major task of peacemaking. Here the respect for the human mind

and the artistic creativity that has been characteristic of historical Buddhism offers hope. What is needed is a richly diversified and expressive global culture based upon the principle of nonviolence. The support of Buddhist leaders for the nonviolent vitalization of existing educational and cultural institutions, as well as the invention of new ones that are globally integrative and responsive, is essential.

In response to the atrocities and outrages that inflame the violent propensities of humankind, the calm equanimity of Buddhism offers a strong basis for patient leadership efforts for peace. So does the Buddhist insistence upon understanding karma, cause and effect. From a Buddhist leadership standpoint, the causes of atrocities can be understood and alternative processes of cause and effect can be activated for peacefulness.

Finally, while Buddhism alone may not be able to overcome divisiveness within the world peace movement, it should not contribute to it and should constantly strive to assist constructive cooperation. Even though nonviolence as means and as an end is not universally accepted, even among those who are committed to peace and social justice, it is the essence of Buddhism and needs to be steadfastly asserted. Buddhist leadership needs to reach out with confidence and friendship to all who are sympathetic to the idea of nonviolent global problem solving. Some of the lack of effective cooperation in the world peace movement, of course, comes not from antagonism but from lack of information and inadequate communication. Here Buddhist traditions of creating and disseminating knowledge can play a useful integrating role.

VI. Conclusion

In our small seminar we have tried to make a contribution to stimulating thought and cooperation on the subject of Buddhism and Leadership for Peace. We hope that all will find something worthwhile in this effort, and that ways will be found to continue

it. As the Buddha teaches in *The Dhammapada*, “One good is a beginning which needs repetition.”⁶

⁶ F. Max Muller, trans., *The Dhammapada* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965).

TOWARD A GLOBAL MOVEMENT FOR A LASTING PEACE

Daisaku Ikeda

This 11th SGI Day is, I believe, an ideal occasion to reflect on how Sōka Gakkai International (SGI) can make a fresh start in the second decade since its founding. Last year was not only the 55th anniversary of Sōka Gakkai, but the 10th anniversary of SGI. To celebrate this significant year, the World Peace Youth Culture Festival was held in Hawaii and Hiroshima. Both were extremely successful affairs, honored by visits by Nichiren Shōshū's 67th High Priest, Nikken Shōnin. I would like to express my deep gratitude to all of our friends around the world for their support and dedicated efforts throughout the years.

It was in 1957 that my respected mentor, Jōsei Toda, issued the declaration against nuclear bombs and called on the young people of the world to carry forth its banner. Twenty-eight years have passed and I think the Sixth World Peace Youth Culture Festival held in Hiroshima not only put the crowning touch on SGI's first decade but provided the perfect opportunity to rally SGI members to the worldwide movement to ban nuclear weapons, in accordance with the dream of our mentor.

The goal of SGI is to establish in every country of the world a firm foundation as a leading force for peace in accordance with Buddhist philosophy. Let me take this opportunity to reaffirm the

original meaning of *rissho ankoku* (security of the land through the establishment of true Buddhism) as the realization of tranquility in society and a lasting peace throughout the world. It is my sincere hope that all of SGI members will set forth courageously with me as we advance into SGI's next decade dedicated to this distant and noble goal.

Promoting U.S.-Soviet Dialogue

I have taken every opportunity these past few years to stress the importance of meetings between the top leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to the cause of world peace. In May 1981, I visited the Soviet Union for the third time, and in a meeting with then-Premier Tikhonov, I made an appeal to Soviet leaders, saying how much comfort it would be to the whole human race to open meaningful talks between the top Soviet and U.S. leaders in Switzerland or some congenial location, preferably away from Moscow.

Later, in a proposal presented in 1983 at the eighth SGI Day as well as at last year's SGI 10th anniversary commemorative celebrations, I urged the immediate opening of summit talks between the two superpowers. I can hardly overemphasize the importance of honest, frank exchange of opinions between the two world leaders, at this juncture in particular, so that they will each understand what the other is thinking and know what he wishes to accomplish for his country. I am convinced that such an encounter, although it means that both parties must overcome great obstacles, will yield bold ideas and actions with which to break through the impasse they face, thereby paving the way for further brave decisions.

For these reasons, we must rejoice at the realization of the U.S.-Soviet summit held last year. Although the substantive results of the meeting will have to be evaluated in the light of the future actions of both superpowers, I highly applaud the mood of detente that spread throughout the world as a result of the direct talks between the U.S. and Soviet leaders. We must not underestimate

the atmosphere of optimism and hope and the environment for peace that were created simply by the very fact that they met.

The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union has been so intense in recent years as to be called the “new cold war.” As a result of the intense nuclear arms race, nuclear weapons are being made more compact in size - as “usable weapons,” and we hear ominous terms such as “nuclear preemptive strike syndrome” bandied about often these days. At the second SGI general meeting in August 1981 in Hawaii, I harshly criticized the inhumanity and peril inherent in nuclear strategy today.

The dangerous trend that has prevailed made the joint statement, announced following the U.S.-Soviet summit last year, all the more significant. In the statement, the leaders of both superpowers agreed that nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, and they also emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, either nuclear or conventional, and agreed that they will not seek to achieve military preponderance. I have consistently insisted on the necessity of dialogue between U.S. and Soviet leaders, largely because I wanted to hear the two world leaders reconfirm to the world their pledge to avoid war, including nuclear war, for the sake of humanity. Such a pledge would be meaningful only between the leaders who have assumed the positions of ultimate responsibility. Indeed, the meeting did brighten the prospects for world peace, and raised the hopes of many around the globe.

On January 15, furthermore, Mr. Gorbachev proposed a step-to-step plan (consisting of three stages) for ridding the earth of nuclear weapons before the end of this century. There have been some significant moves in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, such as President Reagan’s positive reaction to the Soviet proposal, and these we must sincerely welcome.

Mr. Harold Willens, prominent peace activist in the United States, has argued against leaving the resolution of the nuclear arms dilemma to the experts: “The myth of expertise is exactly that, a myth. It takes scientific skills to make a hydrogen bomb. It takes only common sense to know when there are too many hydrogen bombs. And common sense is precisely what is needed

now.” We can replace “common sense” with human conscience and intelligence. It is easier for those in the top positions of leadership, who hold greatest responsibility, to see things from the standpoint of “common sense” than it is for “expert” administrators or scientists. By virtue of their position, moreover, they have channels of communication with the “common sense” populace - the people. If innumerable such channels can be cultivated, the tide of the movement for world peace can be raised over the barriers between nation states and national interests.

As for the Soviet-Japan relationship, which has been decidedly cool in recent years, the visit to Japan by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in compliance with the request of General Secretary Gorbachev, was of epochal significance. The success of the resulting exchanges, moreover, suggests the possibility of a major about-face in the postwar relationship between the two countries, including improved prospects for conclusion of a peace treaty.

In a proposal presented on the occasion of the eighth SGI Day in 1983, I called for the establishment of a “Nuclear War Prevention Center,” staffed by specialists from both the United States and the Soviet Union. I would like to welcome the inclusion in last year’s U.S.-Soviet joint statement of an agreement to set up risk reduction centers designed to engage in expert-level research on ways to reduce the danger of nuclear war. It is extremely important to take practical measures to prevent the occurrence of accidental nuclear war, if the pledge to prevent nuclear war is to be honored.

I am not, however, outright optimistic about the future of the U.S.-Soviet relationship. I am as aware as ever that for all the talk of a “new starting point,” what we must seriously watch is how the superpowers actually conduct themselves. Of particular worry is the danger that while the negotiations drag on, the militarization of outer space may become an accomplished fact. This eventuality is very real, especially in view of the infamous history of talks on new arms limitation between the two nations in the past.

The crucial test will come at the U.S.-Soviet summit meetings, scheduled to be held this year and again in 1987. It is my hope that at these meetings the two leaders will agree on measures to freeze

production of nuclear arms as a precondition to their abolishment. This precondition should be the starting point for the drastic reduction of nuclear arms.

We need hardly cite the example of SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), which were arms reduction talks only in name; while the two sides engaged in discussions on arms control, neither went so far as to actually propose reduction of nuclear weapons. We are no longer free to simply opt for clinging to the status quo, on the pretext of maintaining the “balance” of nuclear power. We can only earnestly hope that the U.S.-Soviet dialogue will reach the stage at which a comprehensive ban is imposed on testing of nuclear weapons. The announcement of a total ban on nuclear testing would be the best possible news for the non-nuclear powers which are signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We must remind the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union that their actions are being closely followed by all people in the world who aspire to a permanent peace. We can only hope that the two world leaders will open the way for conclusion of a new treaty that will limit military activities in outer space.

Of course, the achievement of world peace cannot be left to the United States and the Soviet Union alone. We all have a mission to devise and implement ways to rebuild the crumbling peace, and more than ever, this endeavor requires bold initiatives that are not constrained by the narrow considerations of national interest.

Opening Up New Horizons of Civilization

Today we need deepened confidence in the profound structural changes that international society is undergoing as we near the turn of the twenty-first century. We can sense in the upsurge of the antinuclear, antiwar movement led by ordinary citizens and in its spread across natural boundaries the advent of a new “era of the people.” The mass movement in pursuit of peace and protection of human rights and the natural environment, seeking the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the freeing of the world from hunger and poverty, is very active; it represents an important organized force that supplements the efforts of government and international

organizations. The significance of this movement cannot be overemphasized. The time has come to realize more deeply that on a global scale it is the power of the people that changes history.

I completely agree with Dr. Norman Cousins, the well-known commentator on world affairs, who recently wrote: "If the existence of force can no longer serve as the main source of a nation's security, something else will have to take its place if the human society is to be able to endure and function. The new power that must be brought into being is the power represented by human will - the power of consensus. Out of it can come the energy and momentum for building a haven for human society."

The year 1986 was designated by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace (IYP). What this International Year of Peace means, I think, is that all peoples should make special efforts to share their knowledge of and ideas on ways to prevent war and to build global peace, as well as to put such ideas into action.

With the beginning of the International Year of Peace, United Nations Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar appealed to the people of the world in his inaugural message: "It is time to act on behalf of the future well-being of all nations with the vision and forbearance that peace requires." I need not reiterate that the ultimate aim of Sōka Gakkai International is the realization of world peace in accordance with Buddhist law. As already confirmed in SGI's basic policy, its ultimate aim is to realize eternal peace and to promote human culture and education, based on the teachings of Nichiren Daishōnin, which clearly explain the fundamental importance of the dignity of human life.

The members of SGI also resolve to work for the happiness of all humankind and the prosperity of the world, while strongly rejecting the use of force or coercion of any kind, supporting the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and working positively to cooperate with its program to maintain world peace, abolish nuclear weapons and realize a world without war.

Considering the trend of the times, it is truly timely that the United Nations should have designated this year as the International Year of Peace, with its three-pronged drive for peace and disarmament, peace and development, and preparation for

living in a peaceful world. Here, I would like to declare again our full support for these noble goals.

According to statistics released by the United Nations last year, as many as 20 million people have been killed in roughly 150 armed conflicts since the cessation of global hostilities. This figure exceeds the number of soldiers killed in World War II. Although there has been no global conflict since the second world war, we must face the harsh reality that 20 million people have been victim to incessant regional strife. The United Nations report notes the extremely large number of casualties who are civilians. It also states that the post-World War II period is characterized by a prevalence of “irregular wars,” that is, wars waged in the absence of any formal declaration of war or of a clear ultimatum. As a result, “the parties to the conflict have not felt bound by any rules of conduct” such as international law or treaties.

Nothing is so brutal or so tragic as war, and yet total lawlessness prevails today in many parts of the world. Together with the direct damage of war, we must also turn our eyes to structural problems such as suppression of human rights, discrimination, hunger and poverty. Today, peace and human rights are inseparably related, and on this basic premise, SGI has supported the refugee relief activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and actively promoted the refugee relief activities centered in the Sōka Gakkai Youth Peace Conference. Refugee relief work, I believe, is an indispensable part of protection of human rights and, hence, of the constructive creation of peace. In this International Year of Peace, we are determined to continue multilateral and steady efforts for protection of the dignity of man.

We are faced in the world today by the reality that, with increased interdependence among nations, it is exceedingly difficult to start a large-scale war. When we consider the ill effects and severe impact of war on the economy, we cannot afford to hesitate in recognizing that war squanders money and devastates the environment. Of course, it may not be possible to rid the earth of all conflict at once. The problem is how to construct a

framework for maintaining regional peace on the basis of which it can spread throughout the world.

As we gaze out upon the world today, we must cite the Asia-Pacific region as one with immense potential. While there are many potential causes that could spark war in the region, no large-scale war is presently going on. It is in the Middle East and Central America that serious conflicts are being waged, and in these areas there is the hair-trigger danger that a wrong step could bring the whole world to the edge of catastrophe. The problem of famine in Africa, from the viewpoint of “structural violence,” cannot be put aside. I have no intention whatsoever of turning away from these realities, and I believe Japan must not shirk its duty to contribute to the cause of world peace commensurate with its national strength.

At the same time, as we examine more closely the dimensions of immediate strife and disruption in the form of war and famines; when we consider the problem of world peace with a comprehensive grasp of many factors, including politics, economics, culture and education; and when we seek to create a lasting peace in the history of civilization, not short-term peace that is no more than an interlude between wars, we are forced to turn our attention to the Asia-Pacific region. Inherent in this view is the geopolitical judgment that Japan belongs to and is deeply involved in this region, both historically and geographically, and that Japan must bear a leading role in shaping its destiny.

Asia-Pacific Region in the “No War” Movement

I touched on the importance of the Asia-Pacific region also in my proposal presented at last year’s SGI Day. Unlike in Europe, where NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the Warsaw Treaty Organization stand in direct confrontation, a multiplicity of elements impinge on this region. Among them are the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union; Japan, a leading economic power with a constitution dedicated to peace; resource-rich Canada; China in the throes of a modernization drive leading into the twenty-first century; the ASEAN (Association of

South-East Asian Nations) countries, steadily gaining national strength; and the newly industrializing countries (NICS) of South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong, which have achieved dramatic economic growth, as well as the movement in the South Pacific toward creating a nuclear-free zone centering on Australia and New Zealand.

I talked with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India during his visit to Japan in November last year because the question of how the prospects for peace can be promoted in the world, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, is a subject ever-present in my mind. India actively promotes peace diplomacy with particular stress on nuclear disarmament. Along with Sweden, Greece, Mexico, Tanzania and Argentina, India emphasizes the significance of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings in pressing for nuclear disarmament, and appeals for a halt to the militarization of outer space and for conclusion of a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. I am among the many who have great hopes for the future of Indian as well as Chinese diplomacy in the cause of peace.

SGI has extended strong support for the “Nuclear Arms: Threat to Our World” exhibition, which has been held at United Nations Headquarters in New York and subsequently in twelve other cities in ten countries, and this year also opened in India in January and scheduled in Canada in April. I also hope to hold the same exhibition in China this fall in order to promote the movement for a world without nuclear weapons or war pivoting on the Asia-Pacific region. I myself am determined to devote my utmost to this goal.

Because of the great diversity of cultures in the Asia-Pacific region, conditions are still chaotic, and the situation is replete with danger as well as potential. The danger that further intensification of the U.S.-Soviet military confrontation in this unstable area could trigger a third world war is obvious.

In May 1974, I spoke with Mr. André Malraux during his visit to Japan as special envoy of the French government. I can still remember clearly what he said at that time. In one comment, he declared that if a third world war should break out, it will surely be

in the Asia-Pacific region. Japan must exert the maximum effort to see that such an eventuality does not come to pass.

At the same time, we must clearly scrutinize the progress in history, setting our sights on the energy and potentialities latent even in the chaos of the Asia-Pacific region. Paul Valéry, the French critic, once stated plainly that European civilization is essentially Mediterranean civilization, and he cited its three components as Roman Law, Christianity, and Grecian thought. He also said that European Civilization is characterized by the immensity of its greed and ambition, which, for better or worse, helped it to attain global universality. It hardly need be said that European civilization has both its good and bad sides. It is responsible for material benefits, many admittedly pioneered out of its immense "greed and ambition," and it is also true that it perpetrated irredeemable atrocities through colonialism and imperialism.

It is really a fantastic dream to think that even the good aspects of European or Mediterranean civilization might be sublimated and new horizons in the history of civilization opened up, leading the way to the dawning of Asia-Pacific civilization?

In our joint work *Choose Life*, Dr. A. J. Toynbee emphasizes the role played by East Asia in the coming century, and he gives several reasons, as follows: 1) the Chinese people's experience during the last twenty-one centuries of maintaining an empire that is a regional model for a literally worldwide world-state; 2) the ecumenical spirit with which the Chinese have been imbued during this long chapter of Chinese history; 3) the humanism of the Confucian Weltanschauung; 4) the rationalism of both Confucianism and Buddhism; 5) East Asian people's sense of the mystery of the universe and the recognition that human attempts to dominate the universe are self-defeating; 6) the conviction that, far from trying to dominate nonhuman nature, man's aim should be to live in harmony with it; 7) the demonstration, by the Japanese people, that it is possible for East Asian peoples to beat the Westerners' own modern game of applying science to both civilian and military technology; and 8) the courage shown by both the Japanese and the Vietnamese in daring to challenge the West.

There is little I can add to the insightful analysis of this great scholar, and I understand that there are different opinions from his analysis. But, as we work toward our distant goal with all its inherent challenges, we must not forget even for a moment the axis of a new humanism, which sets its sights constantly on “human beings” and “mankind.”

The Asia-Pacific region has come into the global limelight in recent years mainly from the economic viewpoint, and Japan is a particular case in point. The real and immediate tasks we face, however, despite their urgent importance, should be approached from the broad perspective of world peace, not simply as part of the helter-skelter scramble of economic competition. If this is achieved, the destiny of the Asia-Pacific region will be linked to a new meaning in the history of mankind, as expressed in the so-called Russell-Einstein Manifesto: “I appeal, as a human being to human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest.”

Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture

In preparing the ground for such a perspective, I would like to propose a plan for an “Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture” (APOPAC) as the liaison point for promoting cooperation among Asian and Pacific nations based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit. I believe such an organization could maintain a loose, indirect relationship with the United Nations, rather than be under its direct supervision. It could also establish some form of linkage with the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), a subsidiary agency of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, to supplement and reinforce its functions from the perspectives of peace, culture and disarmament.

Once in the talks with Dr. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, founder of the Pan-European movement, I appealed to him to build the regional headquarters of the United Nations for Asia and the Far East in Tokyo. I developed the APOPAC plan after that in view of subsequent trends in global affairs. The plan is aimed chiefly to provide a forum for international dialogue among

nations on equal grounds and on a permanent basis, so that the countries of the Asia-Pacific region can discuss regional problems, maintain peace, achieve disarmament and further development of their economies.

The United Nations, to which 159 nations belong, has its headquarters in New York, and I have consistently supported, if in a very modest way, its activities, because I have great hopes for this “parliament of humanity” and the role it can play in world peace and the solution of problems in international society. I shall continue as ever to give this support in order that the ideals espoused in the United Nations Charter may come to full fruition.

However, as we have all become aware, the United Nations has many problems, such as with its peace-keeping functions. It is a global organization, and this makes it difficult to deal effectively with regional problems. In order to remedy these weaknesses, it is time to consider an organization based on a totally new concept, and tailored to the needs of the times. As a move in that direction, I would suggest that we adopt a policy of decentralization of power.

The proposed Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture, I hope, will also provide future directions for non-governmental organizations (NGO) adapted to the new age. Today private initiatives are growing increasingly vigorous, and their importance and influence is greater than ever, but the participation of popular groups and NGO in the United Nations, is, to say the least, not sufficient.

On the other hand, I have great hopes that the proposed Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture will demand active popular participation, and open up new horizons in its linkages with non-governmental organizations, while the NGO for their part will seriously examine the roles they can play. As one of NGO, we wish to support, as far as possible, the realization of such a plan.

As we look toward the twenty-first century, I believe we must combine the wisdom of all the peoples of the world, to create a system for global integration, but this cannot be achieved in a day. A global vision of the future can only be made possible by building upon the accumulated activities of each decentralized region.

The problem of regional cooperation in Asia and the Pacific has been discussed in many ways, and some concrete plans have been produced. Some proposals for organizations have been made in the economic field because of the necessity for regional economic cooperation and systemization of interdependent relations. Little headway has been made in bringing such proposals into reality because of the vastness, diversity and ethnic pluralism of the Asia-Pacific region I mentioned earlier. Great differences in social systems, ethnic background, religion and culture as well as different stages of economic development often place obstacles in the way of creating a cooperative relationship.

Compared to the common cultural and historical background of the European countries, which provides the backbone of the European Community (EC), the nations of Asia and the Pacific have no single source of solidarity, and so, are politically, economically and culturally heterogeneous. Any plan that places disproportionate emphasis on politics (security) or on economics, will easily break down, as it tends to produce friction and resistance. I therefore propose that the basic coordinates of the Organization be "peace," "disarmament," "development" and "culture." The most important premise here is respect for the diversity and plurality of all cultural traditions in the region, and rejection of a uniform policy that places any one culture above others, or forces any particular culture upon others. The path to mutual understanding must be paved with respect for indigenous cultures.

No new organization can be established overnight. Its creation must be approached practically and with discretion. We need not be constrained by the belief that the participation of all countries concerned is required from the outset or that it cannot get started without the ideal form and configuration. It would be much more reasonable to begin modestly with what we have, proceed with a flexible spirit, and establish step-by-step a permanent forum based on mutual trust. In its early stages, it could take the form of a loose "consultative body."

One effort, for instance, could be to hold an "Asia-Pacific Summit" at which the top leaders of Asian and Pacific nations

would meet. There have been many summit meetings among the advanced countries, but never among the Asian and Pacific nations. Initiatives such as this would provide accumulated know-how upon which to eventually establish an organization on a model that is appropriate for the twenty-first century. We must be mindful that the Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture and such events as an Asia-Pacific summit not be dominated or controlled by the big powers. Within Japan itself, we are witnessing an upsurge of regional identity and sentiment, and this is reflected worldwide; we can achieve neither peace nor prosperity without the revitalization of local regions.

This year marks the 30th anniversary since Japan became a member of the United Nations in 1956. When Japan was formally admitted to the United Nations by resolution in the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu said in his speech at the time: "The substance of Japan's political, economic and cultural life is the product of the fusion within the last century of the civilizations of the Orient and the Occident. In a way, Japan may well be regarded as a bridge between the East and the West," and his words were warmly received by many nations.

Over the past thirty years, the greatest task for the whole world, Japan and the Asian and Pacific nations included, is the "fusion of tradition and modernization." Today, as thirty years ago, Japan again can become a bridge connecting East and West, this time by promoting the APOPAC and the "fusion of tradition and modernization." To that end, a system for cooperation between the Organization and the Tokyo-based United Nations University will be a necessity.

Melbourne, Australia, is also a very possible location for the headquarters of such an Organization because Australia, along with Japan, was quick to recognize the importance of the Pacific region and to promote the establishment of a joint organization.

I am anxious for Japan to take the leadership in this plan because of the nature of its Constitution, which in its Preamble and in Article 9, pledges dedication to eternal peace. The Preamble expressly stipulates the pursuit of peace based on the sense of justice and faith of the world's peoples. It reads: "We, the Japanese

people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationships, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world.” This statement anticipated the proper path to peace in an age when human destiny is under the constant threat of nuclear arms. I believe it is Japan’s mission, not to revise its Constitution to suit the bitter realities of international politics, as some have advocated, but somehow to bring the spirit of its Constitution to bear in real-life international Politics.

I say this because today, mutual distrust is one of the most serious problems in global society. More than anything else, it is now necessary and important to avoid armed conflict caused by distrust and to create a global current toward seeking peaceful solutions to all problems through consultation. This is the reason why we must continue to appeal to the world using the epoch-making ideals of Japan’s Peace Constitution.

United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar observed as follows: “I think you are setting, or have already set, an interesting example which could be followed by the whole international community. You have dedicated your efforts to your own development, and you have refrained from the production of arm – and then, you have just been doing only what was needed for your own security. If this example could be followed, we can really think in terms of a very reasonably developed world.” I am encouraged by the fact that thoughtful people in the world think in this way.

Like it or not, the pressure on, as well as expectations of, Japan as a leading economic power are increasing. It should not be necessary to fulfill such expectations by recourse to military solutions. It is unquestionable that if emphasis were placed on military buildup, it would shake the very foundations of Japan’s postwar peaceful development. It would also evoke a strong reaction from other Asian countries in particular. How much more favorable would be the reaction of the world if we were, instead, to generously endow an organization aimed at security of peace, such as the proposed Asia-Pacific Organization for Peace and Culture.

This will enable the creation of a peaceful basis for disarmament, aid and development, creating a new “Geneva” or “Vienna” in the Asia-Pacific region which might influence the whole world.

Peace and Prosperity for a Divided Peninsula

As I have said, the chaotic Asia-Pacific region harbors both great danger and great potential. One symbol of the danger is the division and confrontation between the Republic of Korea (hereafter referred to as South Korea), which is separated from Japan by a narrow strip of water, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (hereafter referred to as North Korea). Should the current state of truce erupt into war, it would not only involve the lives of the 60 million people in North Korea and South Korea, but could affect the neighboring countries and possibly even trigger nuclear war because of its strategic location. We can hardly talk of peace for the Asia-Pacific region without directly confronting the reality of the tragedies caused by the division that continue even today, as throughout the forty years that have passed since the Korean people were split into two.

Why was the Korean peninsula, originally inhabited by a single ethnic group, torn asunder? If we look back in history, we can see that the high-handed annexation by militaristic Japan as well as its colonial control of the country are closely related. The people of Korea were forced to bow to Japanese ambitions and they suffered indescribable tragedies in the process. At the time of Japan’s defeat, the United States and the Soviet Union divided up the responsibilities for demilitarization of the Japanese army, and the 38th parallel was established as the line dividing their spheres of duty. In other words, 38 degrees north latitude divided the peninsula: the Soviet Union assumed control over the north and the U.S. over the south. Later on, when the north and south declared the formation of the separate states, and the three-year Korean War began in June 1950, the present boundary (military demarcation line) was established.

In principle, the problem should be handled by the two Koreas on their own initiative, and the intervention of a third party in their

domestic affairs is not desirable. I would place particular emphasis on this, in view of the voluntary initiative and concrete progress that has emerged of late in the North-South dialogue, such as in the form of the North-South Red Cross talks.

In view of the record of history, there are many complicated questions to be answered in considering whether Japan has any right to speak out on the Korean problem. Before Japan can dare to become involved in the destiny of the two countries, there are many tasks of its own it must attend to.

First of all, although Japan and Korea are located close to each other, the Japanese people are surprisingly ignorant of the history of the Korean people. This tendency can be traced, I believe, to the misguided “dissociate from Asia, join the Western powers” concept that was popular since the middle of the nineteenth century. The groundless misunderstanding and prejudice derived from total ignorance of other Asian countries are still far from being completely eliminated in Japan.

Secondly, there is the problem of the 700,000 Koreans who reside in Japan. We cannot afford to forget that these people are daily, directly exposed to the misunderstanding, prejudice and discrimination that have become deeply rooted in Japanese society.

The unfortunate history of relations between Japan and North and South Korea is by no means settled; it is still a very real and immediate problem to be confronted. It is unfair to discuss the problem of the two Koreas without paying proper heed to Japan’s responsibilities, but more than that, any such rhetoric will be regarded with contempt by Koreans, and simply aggravate their injured pride. We are prepared to tackle this task, and considering how much of the problem requires political solutions, it is desirable that statesmen take the initiative by confronting each issue in a positive and constructive manner.

I am well aware of the difficult circumstances involved in speaking of this problem, but as the leader of SGI and as a citizen of the world, I continue to aspire to eternal peace in the world. The division of Korea into north and south is a great obstacle to the realization of permanent peace. This is also clear from the fact that both North Korean and South Korean delegations were invited to

and made a speech at the 40th anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly last year. I believe that peace in the entire Asia-Pacific region and in the world is impossible without peace and prosperity on the Korean peninsula. If, however, the light of peace were lit in the region, it would help, I believe, to break through the dark cloud that overshadows the globe.

The problem of seating South Korea and North Korea in the United Nations remains unsolved. China, the Soviet Union and some other countries do not recognize South Korea, while on the other hand, some free-world nations such as the United States and Japan do not recognize North Korea. There was a proposal for “cross recognition,” by which the Eastern bloc would recognize South Korea and the Western bloc would recognize North Korea in order to break the deadlock, but North Korea would make no concession, claiming that the cross recognition or simultaneous admittance in the United Nations would only solidify the divided state of the country.

Toward Direct Talks between North-South Koreans

North Korea and South Korea have achieved some agreements in the past. The greatest result was the North-South Joint Communiqué, issued on July 4, 1972. The principles for unification agreed upon were: 1) unification should be pursued voluntarily without dependence on or interference from outside parties; and 2) unification should be realized by peaceful means without recourse to the use of armed force against one another, and 3) unification should above all be aimed toward solidarity of a single people that transcends differences in ideology, thought and systems. In spite of various incidents since then, the basic policy, as seen in the positions of the two countries in aiming toward unification in a peaceful and self-initiated manner, remains unchanged. However, the difficulties of overcoming barriers to peaceful unification of the two countries posed by different social systems cultivated over four decades are formidable.

In last year's proposal, I welcomed the signs of progress toward direct dialogue between North Korea and South Korea, and

stressed the importance of high-level talks between the two countries. One year has passed since then, and I feel that the time is gradually growing ripe for the top leaders of North Korea and South Korea to speak directly with one another. Considering the feelers sent out by the two countries over the past forty years and the prospects for the future, I feel it is a necessary precondition to any change that the top leaders of North Korea and South Korea face each other over the negotiating table and talk frankly. As I have mentioned earlier with regard to the U.S.-Soviet summit, I would like to stress again here that the very fact of meeting has great significance. After all, despite many proposals over the past four decades, the prospect has never existed, largely because of the deep-rooted distrust on both sides.

Mr. George F. Kerman, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, who is known as a proponent of disarmament, says that distrust is "a species of fixation, brewed out of many components." To quote him further, "There are fears, resentments, national pride. There are mis-readings of the adversary's intentions - sometimes even the refusal to consider them at all. There is the tendency of national communities to idealize themselves and to dehumanize the opponent. There is the blinkered, narrow vision of the professional military planner, and his tendency to make war inevitable by assuming its inevitability." It is very frightening to be trapped amid such fixations.

I myself have met the leaders of many countries, including those of the United States, the Soviet Union and China, in my search for the pathway to peace. From these many meetings, I have experienced cases in which my image or preconception of the person prior to the meeting turned out to be one-sided; sometimes I discovered a completely different side to the person that I had never imagined existed. completely different side to the person that I had never imagined existed. This is why I believe that dialogue can pave the way for bold decisions, and provides the royal road to removing the "fixations" Mr. Kennan describes.

Once a relationship of trust is established, it can lead to a consensus upon which to establish shared values. It goes without saying that direct dialogue between the top leaders of North Korea

and South Korea, which have such disparate social systems and values, is indispensable. Since dialogue has never before been attempted, complications can be expected, but I truly believe that the people concerned will persist in their efforts to overcome the difficulties.

What can we expect from such a dialogue? After examining past proposals and points upon which North Korea and South Korea have agreed, I think that the first task is to pledge “mutual non-aggression and renunciation of war.” North Korea must state that it will not advance southward while South Korea will promise not to invade the North. The starting point of any dialogue must be for the leaders of the two countries to domestically and internationally reaffirm and declare such intentions.

The two Koreas signed a ceasefire agreement at the end of the three-year war, but in reality, the ceasefire is far from a true peace. One never knows when hostilities may again flare up, and so military expenditures in both countries account for a much larger percentage of the national budget than in other countries. The people of both Koreas must hope that the ceasefire will be a permanent termination of war. The agreement on non-aggression and renunciation of war is an important precondition for achieving a real turning point in the forty-year history of the divided peninsula. My basic idea is that a pledge for mutual non-aggression and renunciation of war should be the precondition to everything, and that no other precondition should be sought. If concerned countries, namely the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan confirmed and resolved to support such an agreement, the tension between North Korea and South Korea would be greatly alleviated.

Through dialogue between North Korea and South Korea on specific issues of concern for the peace-aspiring peoples of both sides, a realistic consensus could be achieved, and this in turn would contribute greatly to pushing away the dark cloud that hangs over Northeast Asia. I look forward to the continued untiring efforts of people involved in the realization of that goal.

The line that currently divides North Korea and South Korea, the military demarcation or ceasefire line, runs for 248 kilometers

from the Han River estuary to the eastern coast roughly along the 38th parallel. An area of four kilometers, two kilometers on the north and south of this demarcation line, is designated as the demilitarized zone. This vast area was prepared to ease the military confrontation between the two countries. The only officially recognized road between North Korea and South Korea passes through the demilitarized zone, meeting at Panmunjom.

Last year, families which had been separated by the partition of the north and south passed along this road from Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea, to Seoul, the capital of South Korea. We all watched the historic exchanges on television. While gazing at the movement of people passing to and fro at Panmunjom, the only point of contact between the two countries, I pondered again the way to create a peace under which all sorts of people could move along this road more freely, and when the barren demilitarized zone might once more be liberated to uses of the people.

Would it not be possible, I wonder, to find an appropriate place in Panmunjom or the demilitarized zone and revive it as a base of culture and peaceful interchange? If the top leaders of North Korea and South Korea signed a pledge of “mutual non-aggression and renunciation of war,” the present demilitarized zone could be turned into a place for new, creative work, in addition to its current peace-keeping function. The passive function of maintaining the ceasefire to avoid North-South conflict could be turned into an active function, utilizing the area to actually build peace. By changing the “ceasefire” into “renunciation of war,” the area can be turned into a place of regeneration and life, where people can enjoy the benefits of culture and peace.

The most realistic starting place, I think, would be exchanges of a non-political nature, such as in sports and academic study, as have successfully been conducted between South Korea and China, or between South Korea and the Soviet Union without regard to diplomatic ties.

Many may say that such a proposal is a fantastic dream, especially those who have seen the bleak, desolate demilitarized zone, but we must remind ourselves that the military demarcation line that divides people of the same ethnic heritage did not

originally exist. People were once perfectly free to come and go. People would be living on the barren demilitarized zone right now, if there had been no colonial annexation by Japan, no war and no U.S.-Soviet confrontation. The area must be given back to the people, so that real peace can again prevail.

The first stage, in preparation for this eventuality, would be to begin international exchanges and joint research in various fields of science and sports. In science and research, people are seeking universalities that transcend nation states, ethnic background or ideology-barriers prone to cause confrontation. The results of research, moreover, should not belong only to one country, but be restored to the whole of humanity. Knowledge can thereby be spread and shared as the joint asset of mankind.

Such a zone could be open to all countries of the world, and made an international center for joint research where scholars and specialists can participate freely and make discussions on research, including those from countries such as the United States and Japan that do not have diplomatic relations with North Korea, as well as from countries which have no diplomatic ties with South Korea, such as China and the Soviet Union. This would enable the latest information, including that on advanced technology, to be transmitted accurately through exchange and research, and thereby used to its fullest. I am convinced that this, in turn, would contribute greatly to the solution of the problems of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, as well as the resolution of the division of North and South Korea.

Hope in the Youth of the 21st Century

The people of North Korea and South Korea will eventually be freed from the terror of war, if this former battlefield, once rocked by international politics and stained with blood, can be turned into a center for the promotion of peace, science and culture. My hope is that the light of tranquility and prosperity will help to salve the wounds of decades of suffering from invasion, war and internal strife.

I have dared to speak out on the issue of the divided Korea and state my ideas on the prospects for Korea in the twenty-first century as a Buddhist who devoutly aspires to world peace and as a citizen of our one-and-only earth; it is my earnest wish to share the sunshine of peace with the people of the peninsula. If the way could be paved in Korea for a real peace, it would surely provide a great source of courage and hope for the people of other countries.

In a sense, the people of the Korean peninsula symbolize the pain and suffering of the twentieth century. Even after this suffering is overcome and the country is resurrected as one whole, it will remain forever in history as a model, not only in Asia, but for all mankind, of how the direct division and strife was resolved through wisdom and reason.

I have offered several concrete proposals with regard to problems concerning the Asia-Pacific region, but the most important task of all is to bring together the hearts and minds of people who seek peace. Seventeen years ago, as I looked into the future, I appealed for the establishment of friendly ties with the youth of China; it was September 1968, at the 11th Sōka Gakkai Student Division general meeting, a time when diplomatic ties between Japan and China had still not been restored. The Vietnam War was intensifying, and there was deep concern that the tensions between the United States and China would escalate to military conflict.

In pursuit of a fundamental turning point for what was clearly an extremely hard time for the whole world, I suggested an ambitious vision for peace in Asia and the whole world, including China's return to the United Nations and the normalization of the Sino-Japanese relations. I made the proposal in the hope that the generations which had not been directly involved in the Sino-Japanese War might join hands and work with goodwill toward the construction of a better world. Today I am deeply gratified to see that this hope has been fulfilled, and that the young people of Japan and China enjoy a deep and growing friendship.

In the same way, I hope, the young people of North Korea and South Korea will be able to forge an enduring friendship and goodwill based on the spirit of peace and fraternity. I also hope

that the young generation, which did not directly experience the unfortunate deeds of the past, can make a new beginning by respecting and helping one another, strengthening the bonds of friendship that can assure a brighter and more secure future for their country. My hope is that such bonds of friendship will transcend the boundaries of race or national allegiance and spread to the European countries, the nations of South America and the states of Africa, the continent of the twenty-first century, so that the powerful rays of peace may envelop the earth.

We are steadily approaching the twenty-first century. The energy of young people in shouldering difficult challenges will be the vital force of the next century, and I call upon them to bring my dream for friendship and world peace to realization. I wish the young people who will support the future of Asia and the Pacific, as well as the whole world, unfailing courage and fortitude.

PEACE AND BUDDHISM¹

Johan Galtung

1. Introduction: Some comments on “peace”

In order to explore the topic “peace and Buddhism” there is a general methodology which is certainly not very original, but very useful. Whenever there is a question of relating X and Y, it may be a good idea to present some thinking about X, then some thinking about Y, and then some ideas about compatibility or conflict, harmony or disharmony or simply irrelevance, between X and Y.

I shall follow that format, and take them in the order of the title, starting with Peace, then Buddhism. And this I shall do at a fairly high level of abstraction, the present paper being in the field of social philosophy rather than concrete contemporary politics.

¹ Talk given at the International House of Japan, December 1984 in connection with the conference “Buddhism and leadership for peace”, organized by the Peace Research Institute of the Sōka University in Japan and Professor Glenn Paige of the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. The talk was also given in Seoul, Republic of Korea, December 1984, in a meeting organized by the Dae Won Pagoda. I am grateful to discussants in both places, particularly to the very lively discussion stimulated by Buddhist monks in Seoul.

Thus, I do not intend to discuss balance of power policies, particularly prevalent in the Occident, or the power centre theories, particularly prevalent in the Orient.² To a large extent these are peace theories of the elite, obviously in the interest of the elites' monopolizing and wielding their power but they are not necessarily peace theories. Rather, I shall have as a point of departure one very simple insight: that peace has something to do with entropy, here simply taken in the sense of "disorder".³ However, that term does not quite connote the idea. Disorder sounds like something messy. The basic point is not messiness in any pejorative sense, but high complexity of the system: many and diverse components, and many and diverse ties of interaction between them.⁴ The underlying thinking would be that the moment the system tends to crystallize, the number of types becomes smaller, the concentration on one point more pronounced, and the links of interaction no longer fill the total space or possibilities but tend to connect certain types only and often mainly in a negative way. At that point, the system may look very orderly, but is in fact poised for battle. In conflict theory, this state of affairs is known as polarization, as when two alliances are pitted against each other, most of the interaction takes place between the leading powers (super-powers) and within them only between the leaders (super-leaders). A "summit meeting" is the typical example.

² Japan emerged with one power centre, Europe with at least two after the Catholic-Protestant split; one tended to develop power monopoly theories, the other balance of power theories. Japan was isolated for a large part of her history and hence not in need of all interactionist power theory, European countries certainly were not. But that does not explain why Japanese gardens tend to have once centre, not necessarily located inside a garden, as usually conceived of, whereas European gardens, particularly the French ones, tend to be based on symmetry. So, maybe there are deeper forces at work, more at the level of cosmology than ideology?

³ For an exploration of this, see Johan Galtung, "Entropy and a general theory of peace", *Essays in Peace Research*, Vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Ejlers, 1974), Chapter 5.

⁴ This perspective, derived from general thinking in ecology on "system maturity" is basic to my own understanding not only of alternative peace theory but also alternative development theory as explored in *Development: goals, concepts and theories* (forthcoming).

Against that image of unpeace or peacelessness, I would like to sketch, very briefly, an alternative image. This image presupposes immediately that one is willing to consider that peace has to be discussed and understood not only as peace among nations, but also as peace within societies, within human beings and with nature. It has to be understood in the space of nature, humans, society and the world. In all four spaces there seem to be two common factors that are necessary conditions for peace: diversity (between the types mentioned above) and symbiosis (the interactive links mentioned above). In nature this would lead to ecological balance. In humans this would lead to rich, mature human beings, capable of developing several inclinations within themselves and letting them play together. At the social level it leads to pluralistic, even fascinating societies, not fragmented into different parts but with the parts interacting with each other, constantly evolving. And at the world level this would lead to active peaceful coexistence between several systems, not only between two as Soviet theory has it (and they, in addition, do not practice that excellent theory inside their own society; they gamble on only one social type, “socialism”).

It is easily seen how different this image of peace is from current reality. Even at the level of theory, both East and West today think about peace as if it were compatible with war with nature, destroying the ecological balance which has as its basis diversity and symbiosis; at the same time bringing forth, simple-minded, often dogmatic and materialistic human beings; at the same time trying to have one system dominate the whole world. There is no sense of the value of diversity, that it is not only unnecessary but even harmful when one social type dominates society, and world, alone. Both spaces can evolve through symbiosis between diverse part, e.g., “socialism“ and “capitalism” together.⁵

⁵ Three obvious ways of combining capitalism and socialism would be (a) to have them in different parts of the country, for instance in a federal structure permitting high levels of autonomy, also in basic economic policy, (b) to have the country go through capitalist and socialist phases in succession, more or less planned, and (c) to have a functional mix, some sectors of society run in a

With significant diversity and symbiosis deficits, our world becomes a warlike system, with efforts to control violence through balance of power policies. However, when such policies are based on offensive arms, (arms that can be used to destroy the other side, not only to defend one's own country), the outcome seems always to be arms races because the other side cannot possibly know for certain whether the assurances that the arms are for "defensive purposes only" are true.⁶ And arms races almost invariably lead to war.⁷ And that is our situation, our predicament - as briefly told as possible. We all know that a nuclear war of any proportion is something that simply must not take place.⁸ Hence, our prospects are not too bright, to put it mildly: we are building war structures, not peace structures.

2. Buddhism: Twenty strong points for peace

I then move on to the second part: Buddhism. In the world as a whole, Buddhism is the major system of belief that, to my mind, comes closest in its way of looking at the world to the type of dynamic, highly complex peace theory just indicated. I shall try to explore this point by dividing it into two parts: twenty strong points in Buddhism, in the sense that they are highly compatible with active pursuits of peace, and six weaker points, in the next section. At the end, then, I shall try to draw a balance relating the images of peace and of Buddhism presented.

capitalist/market manner, other sectors in a socialist plan manner. The latter is also known as the social democratic approach, option (b) is perhaps what China has been and possibly still is undergoing whereas option (a) may be a fascinating possibility for the future, although there are some approximations already in the German Federal Republic, within a capitalist framework.

⁶ See my *There are Alternatives* (Nottingham, BK: Spokeman, 1984), Chapter 3.2.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 100.

⁸ For one description of the consequences for the nuclear war, emphasizing and exploring the sociological and psychological aspects more than is usually done, see my *Environment, Development and Military Activity* (Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1982), Chapter 3.

- (1) Very basic in Buddhism is the *anattā* doctrine of no individual soul. It should be pointed out that this does not rule out something that might correspond to an occidental soul concept at a collective level. What is ruled out is the strong, occidental⁹ emphasis on individualism, and the individual as something unique, specific, detachable and particular. The *anattā* doctrine certainly does not rule out unity in a transpersonal “soul” - in short unity with all humans, wherever they are, trans-nationally, across any kind of borders (by age, gender and race; by nation and class) and with nature, and not necessarily only the biosphere or only animals. One might perhaps say that where in Christianity identification points up from individuals here and now, via Jesus Christ to God (more or less mediated by the Church, depending on the type of Christianity), in Buddhism identity extends in space to everybody, downwards (if one may use that expression at all) to non-human nature, and backwards and forwards in time through the principle of karma and re-birth (as distinguished from the Hindu concept of transmigration where an individual soul is involved). Thus, the *anattā* doctrine makes for a very high level of identification with everything alive in past, present and future, even unity. *Anattā* should in principle counteract fragmentation - even uniting individuals that otherwise may be pitted against each other in a fight for God as each individual sees him, translated into more secular causes if God starts waning. A phenomenon only too well known in the Christian world.
- (2) A consequence of the *anattā* doctrine is the Ahi-sā doctrine, non-violence towards all forms of life, certainly including

⁹ I am using the words “occidental”, “oriental”, not geographically in the rather ludicrous “West of Suez”/ “East of Suez” sense, but more as a description of a religious/civilizational reality, the occidental space is dominated by the religions of the Old Testament (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) whereas oriental space, as I use these terms, is influenced by Buddhist teaching. It should be noted that this would place the Philippines and Indonesia in the Occident, not in the Orient.

animals (a reason why Buddhists tend to be vegetarians). Ahi-sā should not be seen in terms of egoism or altruism; these are concepts that presuppose individualism with the egoist being the individual only trying to maximize his own benefits, even at the expense of others and the altruist being the individual trying to maximize the benefits of others, even at the expense of himself.¹⁰ Within in *anattā* doctrine the Ahi-sā doctrine should be understood as a simple norm not to hurt others because hurting others is the same as hurting oneself. For Gandhi this was absolutely essential, his unity-of-man doctrine being the pillar on which his construction rested.¹¹ Needless to say, a strong nonviolent doctrine is highly peace-building, but problematic if some parts of the world are nonviolent and others are not. Hence a concept of defensive defense.¹²

- (3) Ahi-sā, non-violence, is nevertheless a negative formulation - it means *a* (not) *hi-sā* (violence). This formulation is taken from the *pañca-sīla*, with five precepts, all of them negative (in addition to abstention from taking life, one should also abstain from stealing, from adultery or sexual misconduct in general, from lying, and from intoxicating drinks). The *pañca-sīla* should be seen in conjunction with the *pañca-dhamma* the five deeds that are formulated positively. One of them is *mettā-karūṇā*, translatable as “compassion”. In other words, one should not only abstain from violence but also feel compassion towards all beings, everywhere. (The other four deeds are “good vocation”, which

¹⁰ This is in line with the general Occidental tendency to see relations as competitive, as “I win, you lose” or vice versa. In Buddhism there is a strong emphasis on the possibility of growing together, and also of declining together because of the Linkages of individuals with each other. It is the network of individuals rather than these individuals themselves that matters: the relations rather than the elements that are related.

¹¹ See my *Gandhi Today* (Munich: Bertelsman, 1985) - other translations forthcoming, Chapter 3.

¹² And this is the basic thesis of *There are Alternatives*, as developed in Chapter 5.2 in some detail.

would exclude the sale and making of weapons and liquor, “positive control of sexual life and passions”, “telling the truth” and “mindfulness, carefulness” - in the sense of abstaining from negligence, carelessness). From the point of view of peace theory, this is important: in the very entry Buddhism there is a basis not only for negative peace, but also for positive peace, not only for absence of war, but also for positive relations.¹³

- (4) A basic idea of Buddhism is what one might call the collective ethical budget, the idea that Buddhahood is something we reach together; not the same as self realization of the individual, but Self-realization of all. I see no reason why this thinking could not also be applied to the world space: the well-being, development and security of other countries is also well-being, development and security for my country. If I hurt and harm the other party at the individual or collective level we can no longer develop together, not even reach each other. I may triumph alone, but that is also all. In principle this type of thinking should lead to a new kind of trade theory where I build up the other party through cooperative arrangements,¹⁴ and to a theory of not only common security (the Palme Commission) but cooperative security.¹⁵ Some of this might take the form of world institutions such as the United Nations peacekeeping forces; more important today is perhaps efforts to build one's own security without reducing that of the others, for instance through defensive rather than offensive weapons.¹⁶ In short, the collective nature of this thinking would take the form of “my security is your security

¹³ See “An editorial”, *Journal of Peace Research*, 1.1 (1964).

¹⁴ See Johan Galtung, “Self-reliance: Towards alternative economic theory”, Keynote speech given at The Other Economic Summit (TOES) London, May 1985.

¹⁵ The Report of the Palme Commission is called *Common Security* London, 1983. My critique of that report is found in *There are Alternatives*, Chapter 4.3, 138-45.

¹⁶ For a further explanation of this, see the excellent book by Dieter Fischer, *Preventing War in the Nuclear Age* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984).

and vice versa”, leading to a concept of additive rather than subtractive security.¹⁷

- (5) Basic in Buddhism is tolerance, first within Buddhism with the famous dictum of 84,000 sects, a history practically speaking with no holy office to protect doctrine, no inquisition and no intra-religious wars. But there is also tolerance of other systems of belief, making it possible to combine them with Buddhism to a large extent, or to coexist with Buddhism. There is pluralism rather than singularism, there is unity in diversity, and there is also a symbiotic use of the diversity as witnessed by the ability of Buddhists to integrate other types of thinking in their own approach.¹⁸ In peace theory this means that the condition of diversity of types of attitudes and behavior is highly compatible not only with Buddhist thought but also with Buddhist practice. Sharp lines of confrontation are avoided; there is a search for compatible ideas and actions as an expression of unity.
- (6) The doctrine of the middle road is a philosophy, expressed as a concrete approach to life. The basic point is “neither too much nor too little”, an approach that will tend to make Buddhists non-fanatic. In the field of attitudes and belief this would imply a tendency to stay away from extreme positions. This could, in turn, make Buddhists, like Quakers, useful as bridge builders, as contacts between the extremes, perhaps pulling the extremes towards a more “pragmatic” Buddhist position.
- (7) The middle of the road policy is a concrete manifestation of the point above. In material life this means neither too little - the basic needs have to be satisfied - nor too much - accumulation of riches should be avoided. The implication would be relatively egalitarian societies, less concerned with materialism, and great care in economic life so that others are

¹⁷ To this, however, it could be objected, that if there is real conflict about very basic interests or one of the countries is expansionist come what may, all such considerations would be brushed aside.

¹⁸ This is beautifully illustrated and documented by one of the major books of our century, Nakamura’s rightly famous book *Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1964).

not deprived of the possibility of a middle of the road life (the unity of man principle would play a role in this connection). What is here seen as a social doctrine could also be a world doctrine among countries: no country should consume too little, no country should consume too much. More particularly, no country should consume too little because others consume too much; no country should consume too much because it is taken from others that consequently consume too little. Again, from the point of view of peace theory this obviously gives a strong basis for positive peace policies based on equality, equitable forms of exchange, cooperative behavior.

- (8) Small is beautiful: for the simple reason that the type of cooperation needed to move forward towards Buddhahood, with human beings constantly interacting, helping each other, can only be meaningful in smaller units.¹⁹ Even a Buddhist mass movement like the Sōka Gakkai, with its mega-manifestations, seems to be at its best in the small, in face-to-face groups.²⁰ But in general, this type of thinking

¹⁹ I will forever remain grateful to my Buddhist friends in the Malaysian Buddhist Meditation Centre, Green Lane, Penang, Malaysia for showing me so gently how this works in practice, starting with churls in Pāli, continuing with exchanges of merits and demerits experiences, and then with short talks on Buddhist topics followed by discussions. The point was not only that the size of the groups doing this was small, but also that it was a group in the sense of not being an Organization with a hierarchy, meaning a priest officiating on top. The role of the monk, the brother, was more like a brother.

²⁰ I must relate my own personal experience in this connection which I found so touching. Being a Visiting Professor at the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang, I happened to live close by the Pagoda described in the preceding footnote. One Sunday I ventured over, across the Green Lane, and asked whether I might be present at the ceremony. I was most cordially welcome, and after this had been repeated a couple of Sundays, I was asked whether I could imagine giving next Sunday's talk on a Buddhist topic. I immediately objected that I was not a Buddhist, only somebody from the protestant north of Europe, not that I was a Christian in general or a Protestant in particular, but I was simply interested in Buddhism, trying to understand better what it was about. "But that means that you are a Buddhist", they exclaimed, adding that Buddhism is not a question of sudden conversion, of being something one was not before, but of a process, of becoming. I can testify to this. There is an endless road to

would be more typical of H×nayāna Buddhism than of Mahāyāna (of which Sōka Gakkai may be said to be an example). From the point of view of peace theory, small social units seem to be more peaceful in all four spaces (nature, human, social, world), among other reasons because there will be more steering mechanisms, people telling each other when something goes wrong than in mass societies of mutually fragmented individuals, kept at a considerable distance from the power elite.²¹ In general, Buddhism will tend to favor small units of social organization, and smaller units - by and large - are less belligerent than the larger ones, if for no other reasons than having less resources for destructive activity.²²

- (9) Holism: Buddhism will have no difficulty thinking and acting in terms of all four spaces, not accepting divisions, man-made, artificial, of the great unity of sentient life. However, of all the four spaces it should be pointed out that Buddhism is at its strongest, as a philosophy and as a practice, in human space, and then, also, in its relation with nature. Buddhism is less

walk both ethically and cognitively; Buddhism being easy to enter, demanding in the process, endless in its prospects.

²¹ It is interesting to relate this to the theory of indirect democracy. When the system is based on political parties the struggle among them is horizontal, people deciding through their votes which party or combination of parties should rule. But the distance between ruler and ruled may still be considerable; there may be rulers and ruled in all parties, and what changes when the parties change is the group of rulers. When the system is based on referenda and public votes in general over issues, chances are that the distance between ruler and ruled may become less. The rulers will have to rule more in accordance with the concrete and specific wishes of the ruled because the votes are over real issues, not over those issue bundles referred to as parties, permitting the rulers to interpret an election victory almost any way they want. However, what is missing in that type of system is the horizontal struggle among political parties over interests and values. And thus it is that this struggle comes to the forefront in systems based on parties, retaining considerable distrust for the ruled and distance between ruler and ruled, whereas that distance is decreased in systems (like the Swiss system) based on referendum, at the expense of considerable lack of dynamism inspired by party struggles.

²² This is a major finding of the Correlates of War project directed by J. David Singer of the University of Michigan. It is also a rather important argument underlying the "Small is Beautiful" thesis.

developed as a canon of thought and practice for social space and world space. There is a certain lack of social doctrine in Buddhism, including a certain lack of peace doctrine in a more specific sense - a point that could easily be overcome (I feel) with more active contributions from contemporary Buddhist philosophers. The basic condition is there, however: Buddhism is no-metaphysical. It is a moral philosophy, to be tested empirically, with no special sphere for the divine as something separated from human beings. Where occidental religions would develop a theology as a science of the divine, Buddhist philosophy ("Buddhist theology" being a *contradictio in adjecto*) is free to focus on this world and as holistically as the problem would require.

- (10) Historically, Buddhism tends to be a religion, or system of belief, for the people, or the great masses, rather than for the upper classes and the power elite.²³ Thus, it was expelled from India for being incompatible with Brahminist aspects of Hinduism. In Japan, the leading elites adapted the much more nationalist and regressive (state) Shintō as their basic orientation, in addition to Christianity. In Korea, and to some extent also China, the power elite embraced Christianity, and its secular offspring, liberalism /conservatism and Marxism. Thus, in Korea today, one finds aggressive Christianity in the South and aggressive Marxism in the North, among the elites, on top of widespread Buddhism in the people - presumably also in the North - and hence a great peace potential if only the leaders could either step back or reconcile themselves with the general Korean urge for unification. From a peace theoretical point of view, this would mean a great potential for peace politics. With Buddhism as guidance, a joint Korean peace policy based on Buddhist thinking would have a solid foundation in terms of the masses of the countries involved.

²³ One reason for this populist character: Buddhism is simply too egalitarian for the tastes of the upper classes, and the ascetic lifestyle of the *bhikkhu* too modest - for instance in comparison with the upper rungs of the ladder of the Christian hierarchy - to be promising from the point of view of the upper classes.

But it was too weak to withstand the Japanese (Shintō) conquest of Korea; one possible reason why the elites embraced Western thinking as a response. Western thinking tends to be more self-assertive on behalf of the believers (Christianity), the nation(s) (liberalism) and/or the class (Marxism).

- (11) In Buddhism there is no division between creator and created - an essential point in the Buddhist unity of all (and not only unity of man) concepts. From a peace theoretical point of view this means that we have only ourselves to rely upon. We cannot hope to get peace in return for obedience to a transcendental God, as part of His grace. It has to be of our own making, as a part of the ongoing creation of the world as made by all sentient beings past, present and future. We have to strive, just as peace is not a gift, but the possible result of conscious, deep, action.
- (12) Closely related: In Buddhism there is less of a subject-object distinction. There is not only we watching the world - the world is also watching us; we are in it, but also of it. Concretely this means that there is an ongoing dialectic where we influence the world and the world influences us. Peace is not something we make by shaping the world; it is also something shaped in us in the process. It is our task to turn that dialectic positively. And this is not done by asking occidental questions like "Where do we start, by changing the world or by changing ourselves?" but by promoting those processes whereby positive changes in nature, human, social and world spaces can go hand in hand.
- (13) According to Buddhist thinking, there is impermanence in everything, the *anicca* doctrine. The world is ebbing and flowing, not a rigid structure of global architectonics - but precisely a process based on diversity in symbiotic interaction. It does not make any sense to try to freeze the world in a form or a structure once and forever. Whatever plan one might make for peace, it has to be a process plan, not a structure plan. From a peace theoretical point of view this is much more realistic than any structural blueprint that lays down for eternity what

peace should look like but does not take into consideration the evolving nature of the four spaces in general and the interaction, within and between them, in particular.

- (14) According to Buddhist thought, this interaction is always two-way; my consciousness working on the world, the world shaping my consciousness, and so on. To achieve anything, one should never try to proceed in a linear manner, pushing a lever forgetting that there is a reactio to every actio. And not try to find one lever that can be used to move the rest of the system, but trying to work from all corners at the same time. Much better than a major one-dimensional push are many small, but coordinated efforts along several dimensions at the same time, starting in all kinds of corners of material and spiritual reality - remembering that the system will hit back in a complex web of interrelations.²⁴
- (15) According to Buddhist philosophy, the world is filled with contradictions, the whole approach being highly dialectical. Thus, the current Chinese thinking in terms of “one country, two systems”²⁵ meaning that there can be both socialism and capitalism within one country, the People’s Republic of China - is fundamentally Buddhist and Daoist, certainly not Marxist which is a much more linear, one-sided, occidental system of belief. From a peace theoretical point of view one possible implication of this is that one should not try to get rid of contradictions, trying to make systems pure. Rather, a diversity with contradictions is both possible and even desirable. And to strive for a contradiction-free reality is meaningless.
- (16) Buddhist thought is organized like a Buddhist wheel, it is not pyramidal and deductive from first principles. Of the various ideas mentioned above none should be seen as more fundamental than the others. Rather, they could be seen as

²⁴ This is a major point in Hindu, and for that matter also in Buddhist philosophy: if one pursues only one goal or value single-mindedly at the expense of all others, chances are that one will not even obtain that one, precisely because of this “complex web of interrelations”.

²⁵ The Chinese expression for this, transliterated, is “I guo, lieng zi”.

organized around a wheel where all possible lines are drawn between the points as connections to be explored (with the danger that this would lead to bilateralism, always looking at only two points at the time, rather than three, four, many). One important implication of this is that there is no unbroken core of fundamental and final articles of faith; and that the system as a whole is open to new points, meaning new approaches. As the wheel rolls through time, new points come up on top and demand more attention; as the wheel spins the relationships between the points are spun into an ever tighter web of thought and action. Ultimately, it is the totality of all of this that matters, the whole approach being fundamentally holistic, and dynamic - as opposed to a deductive pyramid tying together atomistic insights or “findings”.²⁶

- (17) Buddhist thought is profoundly optimistic: there is Buddha nature in us all if we only realize it. But there is a difference between the H×nayāna approach perhaps more emphasizing how to avoid *dukkha* (suffering) and the Mahāyāna approach more emphasizing how to obtain *sukha* (bliss, happiness). Thus, it stands to reason that from the H×nayāna school more might be expected in terms of negative peace, and from the Mahāyāna school more in terms of positive peace. Since both are parts of a dynamic peace concept, a Buddhist gift to the world would be to combine the H×nayāna and Mahāyāna approaches, see them as examples of diversity, and let them interact symbiotically with each other. A challenge to Buddhism!²⁷
- (18) The Buddhist view of processes tends to be cyclical, not linear. There is neither any definite guarantee that things are going well, nor that they are going badly. There are ups and

²⁶ For further explanation of this theme, see Johan Galtung's *Methodology and Development* (Copenhagen: Ejlers, 1986), Chapter 1.

²⁷ To quote the Mongolian Buddhist Ochirbal, at the “Buddhism and leadership for peace” conference in Tokyo, December 1984: “What matters is not H×nayāna or Mahāyāna, but Buddhayāna! And this, of course, would relate to Chinese and Japanese time perspectives in general, less linear, more cyclic than what is found in the occident.

downs in all four spaces, and that which has come up may come down again just as that which has come down may come up (as opposed to heaven and hell in Christian theology these are seen as end states in human evolution, as points of Do return). From a peace theoretical point of view the cyclical view may inoculate Buddhists against being too optimistic when things go well or too pessimistic when things go badly, thus permitting them a middle of the road position also in this regard. On the other hand, there is also - particularly in the Mahāyāna school - a basic optimism which would imbue the cyclical perspective with an element of linearity, somewhat like a spiral moving forward and upward.²⁸

- (19) In Buddhist philosophy, the focus is on continued striving, self-improvement and Self-improvement being not only indispensable but also possible. Neither acts of faith, of submissiveness or acts of Grace from divine quarters (except in Amida Buddhism) are to be expected, to be hoped for or would in any sense be useful. Much and hard work is needed - a type of thinking entirely compatible with peace theory.
- (20) And finally, there is the goal of the whole exercise in human space: nirvana, which can be seen as some type of maximum entropy. It should not be translated as “extinction” or similar metaphors used in western presentations.²⁹ It might rather be seen as some kind of realization of the unity of man doctrine, a Self-realization where the *anattā* doctrine is fully realized, in a state of constant *sukha*. This would be highly compatible with the idea of peace as expounded above, in the mini-peace theory already indicated at the outset. Nirvana is entropy, peace is

²⁸ And this, of course, would relate to Chinese and Japanese time perspectives in general, less linear, more cyclic than what is found in the occident.

²⁹ I often wonder whether this dissolution-into-nothing interpretation so often found in the West is something made by Christian priests in order to make Buddhism appear less attractive! Clearly, Christianity derives much of its strength from its promise of eternal life. What Buddhism promises is release from the cycles of rebirth, just as Hinduism promises release from the cycles of transmigration. Rather than dissolution, nirvana is seen as a state of maximum entropy, a state of union where the individual is no longer discernible.

entropy - hence, in a certain sense peace is nirvana and nirvana is peace. And the preceding nineteen points concretizations of this point number 20.

3. Buddhism: Six weak points for peace

But Buddhism also has weak points that contribute to explaining why today it does not play the great role as a peace-building factor that Buddhism certainly has the potential for doing. Six such points will be briefly touched upon: those living in Buddhist countries may see many more.

I

- (1) Tolerance is good, but Buddhism may also have been led to become too tolerant, for instance of highly violent systems of militarism -- like in the case of Japan where Buddhists too easily also embraced Shintōism and combined the two with Confucianism in a highly dangerous way which was most useful for Japanese militarism (the kamikaze suicide expeditions being a good example). Another case in mind may be Buddhist support for military regimes, like in Thailand.
- (2) Tolerance is good, but Buddhism may also have been too tolerant of systems practicing structural violence, for instance in their economic policies, so that the middle way doctrine becomes a structural impossibility. The result is extreme misery on the one hand and extreme wealth on the other, without Buddhists necessarily standing up, fighting the system, in an effort to practice middle way policy. Again, Japan is an example of such economic policies, internationally speaking, itself accumulating riches and periphery countries in the Japanese economic sphere experiencing extreme poverty, even misery. But then, at the same time, it should also be mentioned that the income distribution of Japan is among the most egalitarian in the world.³⁰ And the index of equality varies little

³⁰ The Japanese income distribution seems to have three major characteristics: the statistical indices of dispersion are very low; they are relatively constant over time meaning that there are few fluctuations with diverging and converging patterns and, of course, not all benefits can be

over time, meaning that rises and declines come in a parallel fashion for the elite and for the people - both facts to some extent, in all probability, attributable to the influence of Buddhist thought and practice within the country. In a sense this might be taken to indicate that there is more of a social doctrine than a world doctrine in Buddhism. But above all Buddhism operates as an extremely important doctrine structuring behaviour in the nature and human spaces, at the micro rather than macro levels. As mentioned above, these are the strongest points where the spaces are concerned.

- (3) The idea of working among ourselves in small groups, next to the temple and the tank, in the village, under the guidance of the *bhikkhu* (monk), is beautiful. But it may also lead to retreatism, to withdrawal. Of the Triple Gem, the Buddha and the Dhamma (the teachings of the Buddha) are available to all. But the Saṅgha (the order of the monks) becomes marginalized from the rest of society, having its own existence in splendid, micro society isolation (meaning by that both that it is isolated and that it is splendid, practicing *Ahi-sā* and *metta-karuna* among themselves). Buddhism becomes privatized, not in the sense of being individualized, but in the sense of belonging, collectively, to small groups on their cooperatively engineered road to Buddhahood. The impact on macro society is negligible, or even negative by placing individuals far on the road to Buddhahood outside social circulation.
- (4) Buddhism may too easily accept that the leadership of a country practices the opposite of Buddhism as long as it gives in return freedom of worship. In other words, Buddhists like others may too easily accept a concordat with the powers that be, and are of course not immune to the fringe benefits, the emoluments that such a concordat might carry in its wake. Where Buddhism becomes a State religion, this danger is very apparent, Thailand being a possible example.

expressed in monetary terms thus escaping such measures. The latter point should be kept in mind before one becomes too lyrical about the Japanese system.

- (5) In the idea of cyclical processes, as opposed to linear processes, a high amount of fatalism may easily enter, accepting defeat too easily even if there is no inner capitulation. According to the cycle, decline is inevitable; however, it is not too dangerous since according to the cycle there will also be an upswing in due time. But since this will come anyhow no real effort is needed. In short, there is some truth to occidental prejudices about the Orient and vice versa, of course.³¹
- (6) Given the five conditions just mentioned, Buddhism may easily become ritualistic, ornate, embroidered and very beautiful like in the countless temples in South East and Eastern Asia. But this may also be all there is to it. The focus may be on the Buddha as an object of idolatry and on the *gasshō*, pressing the hands together, bowing lightly to the image of the Buddha in any position. The focus may be on the *dhamma*, on his teachings as something to be learnt by heart, even in quaint languages (Pāli, which is the same to Singhalese as Sanskrit to Hindi, or in very classical Chinese and other languages). And the saṅgha may be something admired but at a distance, not to be imitated. In other words, Buddhism may become an object rather than something subjective entering the life of the person as an almost inexhaustible reservoir of insight into human life; a psycho-philosophy *sans pareil*. And that is the recipe for stagnation, which is another way of saying that a religion is dying.

³¹ To the West “freedom is insight in necessity,” although promulgated by leading Western philosophers, has always been seen as the philosophy of the Knecht; the Herr living according to the maxim: “freedom is insight in sufficiency”, meaning his own sufficiency, his self-sufficiency. The result is tremendous occidental elite expansionism. To the orient “freedom is insight in necessity” seems to have been much more acceptable, leading to a fatalism passing as wisdom as a cloak for conservatism. As a result, oriental elites have been threats to their own, occidental elites, not only to their own but also to elites and people everywhere else in the world.

4. Conclusion

Looking through all the points just made, the balance sheet is obvious: Buddhism has a tremendous potential as a source for active peace politics, to a large extent untapped. But Buddhism has to be revived and kept alive in order to escape the corruptive influences of a world replete with direct and structural violence. Incidentally, I think there are such peace potentials in all religions. But Buddhism differs from so many of the other religions (for instance Christianity) because by no stretch of imagination can Buddhism be used to justify direct and structural violence, war and exploitation. When Christianity turns its ugly side up, it spells war; when Buddhism turns its ugly side up, it spells retreatism, ritualism. It is our task to have both of them turn their beautiful sides up, and they may actually be quite similar in their action consequences.³²

It might be useful to remember that the Lord Buddha practiced his doctrine, and for all of society. His was not only a religious doctrine, but also a social and political doctrine for the social and inter-social formations of his time. So maybe that is what we are missing: a higher level of consciousness as to what Buddhism could mean in practice, with more exercise of inspired leadership to implement the insights.

Of course, there are such inspiring and important examples of Buddhist leadership as the former U.N. Secretary-general, the Burmese U Thant or the Sōka Gakkai International leader, Daisaku Ikeda, or the Sarvodaya Shramadana International leader, the Sri Lankan, Ariyaratne. The challenge is certainly there. All over the world there are efforts to build more peace-like structures - but they are often missing in ethos. Buddhism is such an ethos,

³² I think Christianity like other ideologies in the occident come in two versions: one made for expansion and one for protection, in order to be adaptable to the changing phases of occidental history. See the last chapter of the book by the Swiss theologian Hans Küng, *Christ Sein*. Also, read the beautiful *preghiera semplice* by Francisco d'Assisi. Where is the Christological aspect of Christianity in those two? Where is the grace of God? Is it not rather "wer immer strebend sich bemüht..."?

perhaps in search of a concrete structure. Maybe the two could meet, and maybe this could also be a very concrete example of a meeting of East and West, very much overdue?

Notes:

In this paper, I have been inspired by Buddhist writing and Buddhist practice, and particularly by my numerous discussions with plain, ordinary Buddhists. I have, however found the following two books quite useful: Alexandra David-Neel, *Buddhism, its Doctrines and its Methods* (New York: St Martins Press, 1979). David J. Kalupahana, *Buddhist Philosophy: A Historical Analysis* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA¹

I. Ochirbal

1. The Spread of Buddhism among the Ancient Mongols

The history of Buddhism in Central Asia can be traced to the time of Achaemenid Era (4th century BCE - circa 330 BCE) and this is related to the fact that Central Asia had ancient traditional relations with India. King A♣oka (274-237 BCE) of the Mauri Dynasty, paid considerable attention to the propagation of Buddhism in his own country and in the neighboring countries. From the second half of the 3rd century, Buddhism began to spread over the territories of present Afghanistan, Iran, Western and Eastern Turkestan. A bilingual edict of King A♣oka was discovered in Jaridhara (now South Afghanistan). The spread of Buddhism in Central Asia had naturally influenced the neighboring countries. An Ancient Mongolian tribe, the Huns, had direct relations with the peoples of Central Asia. Shanyu Maodun (209-174 BCE), the King of Hun state, conquered Loulan (Kroraina) of Lob Lake, Usum of Semirechye Huche of Altai. From the 2nd century BCE, the Huns had broad political and

¹ Excerpts from the booklet *Buddhism in Mongolia* (Historical Survey), Second Edition (Ulan-Bator: Ganden Thekchenling Monastery, 1981).

economic relations with the countries where Buddhism was well established. Kucha, subjected to the Hun state, became a Buddhist country as early as 102 BCE. According to Mongolian historical sources, the main object of worship of the South West Huns was a “Golden Portrait of the Lord Buddha“.

The Hun state was succeeded by the state of Xianbi, of Mongol origin. Wuzong (282-333 CE), the head of the Xianbi, issued an edict saying, “we shall pile up good luck and accumulate goodness by meritorious deeds”.

In the 3rd to 4th centuries of the Common Era, Buddhism also spread to some extent in the state of Tughuhun, which was formed in the area of Khukhe Nur. Tughuhun was the son of Wuzong. In 514, a five-story stūpa was erected in the Tughuhun area. Some of the kings of Tughuhun were given Buddhist names. For instance, name of King Fofu (530-534) seems to be the translation of a religious name meaning “supporter of the Buddha“. The Tughuhuris maintained broad economic relations with the Turkestan countries and Ruran, existed on the territory of Mongolia.

At the time of the Uighur state (8th – 9th centuries), which succeeded the Turkish state, the Uighurs, starting from 763 until the 10th century, or in other words until the time they moved to Kanchow, believed in Manichaeism. So, from the middle of the Turkish domination to the time of decline of the Uighur state (9th century). Buddhism failed to win support from the state and its spread nearly stopped. Thus, it is correct to say that Buddhism declined in Mongolia between the first period beginning from the time of the Huns and the second period beginning from the time of Genghis Khan. This conclusion is drawn by Sh. Damdin (1867-1937), a leading Mongolian Buddhist.

Mongolian conquerors headed by Genghis Khan intended to use religion to promote their political objectives. It seems that some of the top military leaders and consultants were familiar with Buddhism.

In 1206, Genghis Khan sent a letter to the Tibetan Khenpo Lama of Saja saying “I want to invite you to my country, but my state affairs have not been finished yet, so pray for my victory.”

Genghis Khan mentioned in one of his letters that he freed the Tibetan religious leader from tax duty.

The second great Khan Ogödei, the son of Genghis Khan (1229-1241), also supported Buddhism and began to build Buddhist temples and a big stūpa in the city of Kra-Korum, which was proclaimed by Genghis Khan the capital of Mongolia in 1220. The big stūpa was completed in 1256, in the time of Mönkhe Khan (1251-1258). Later, in 1311 and 1342-1346, it was restored and redecorated. It was a five-story stūpa. On the ground floor, at each corner, there was a room, and Buddhist statues and pictures were displayed in proper orders in each room. William of Rubruck, a Minorite monk, and an envoy of Louis the 9th, the King of France, who visited Mongolia in 1253-1255, wrote: “In a big, temple there were many lamas sitting in two rows, holding beads in their hands, wearing yellow gowns. Their hair and beards were close cut and they were reciting Buddhist books chanting “*Oṃ ma ṇi padme hūṃ*” (May happiness prevail).

In Mongolian literary sources about monument erected in the second half of the 14th Century in Kara-Korum, “Tsogt the Great Temple”, the temple of praying, or Chitayan temple, and others were mentioned. It was also reported that 120 temples were built for lamas.

All these facts show that Kara-Korum, starting from the beginning of the 13th Century and to 1380, for over 100 years, was a big administrative and religious centre on the territory of the MPR. In 1380, Chinese troops invaded Mongolia and captured Kara-Korum, burned it down and looted its treasures.

Mönkhe Khan had no less of an important role to play in the propagation of Buddhism in the Mongolian United State. In 1251 he became khan and invited Maniba Lama of the Karmapa sect of Buddhism and Choigyön, who was famous as Karma - the Teacher, and set up the Lhadin temple. Later on, Karma - the Teacher in the time of Hubilai Khan, was equally respected as Phagpa Lama.

Mongolian Buddhists, praying for the long life of Mönkhe Khan, erected a stone monument on the bank of the Ider River in the Khubsugul aimak in 1257. The Great Khans of Mongolia who

supported Buddhism, making it state religion, also took interest in the Indian and Tibetan cultures.

Iphtikhir Eddin Mukhamed, a Persian scholar and tutor of Mönkhe Khan, translated the tales of Calila and Dimna, a part of the Indian *Pañca-tantra*, from Persian into Mongolian and instructed Mönkhe to read them.

Sonam Gara, a well-known translator, long before 1269, translated a philosophical and moral book “Subashid” or “Subbasitaratnanidhi” by Saja Pandito Kunga Gyaltzen from Tibet.

Having spread among Mongolian rulers and nobilities at the time of the United Mongolian State, Buddhism developed further during the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty.

The Khans of the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty restored old temples and monasteries, built new ones in Peking and other cities. Hubilai Khan erected several temples and monasteries in Peking named after Genghis, Ögödei, Guyug, Mönkhe Khan, Esugei, the father of Genghis Khan, Zuchi, Tsagaadai and Tului, the sons of Genghis Khan.

One significant effort in the field of dissemination of Buddhism in the Yuan Dynasty was the translation of books on Buddhism from the Tibetan, Sanskrit and Uighur into the Mongolian language and printing them. In the beginning of the 14th century, almost all books on Buddha’s Teachings were translated into the Mongolian language. Choigi Odser, a Mongolian scholar, philosopher and poet, accomplished an important work on translating books on Buddhism, disseminating them among the believers and providing his own commentaries to those books.

In 1305, Choigi Odser translated *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (7th century) by Śāntideva, an ancient Indian philosopher, in 1308 translated *Pañca-rakṣa* from Sanskrit and also translated the *Saddharma-puṣṭacarika Sūtra* in a poetic form.

In the 14th century, Budön Rinchendub, a Tibetan scholar, collected into separate volumes the great *Kangyur* and *Tengyur*, and at the time of Ligden Khan (1592-1636), the *Kangyur* was completely translated into Mongolian.

However, “Jampal sanjod” of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, “Shirnen” of the *Heart Sūtra*, “Sanjod Mönlam” of Samantabhadra

Bodhisattva, and “Doloon urgen-u odun-u sudar” of the sūtra entitled *Sme-bdun-skar-mai-mdo*, which had been translated at the beginning of the 14th century, were included into volumes 89, 92, 108 of the *Kangyur* that Tsahar² and kings were still worshipping as an amulet “Gormao Gur-u” (Mahākāla, introduced by Phagpa Lama by 1629).

2. The Yellow Sect of Buddhism in Mongolia as the Greater Vehicle of Buddhism

The period between the second half of the 14th century and the 17th century was one of the most complicated ones in the history of Mongolia. Buddhism, the most ancient religion in the world which originated in India and had spread to Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, China and other countries, rose and fell together with the state systems of the above-mentioned states.

Between 1388 and 1400, five Khans had changed on the imperial throne. In addition, in 1414 and 1422, the Kings of Oirats and Mongolia fought against each other. However, the desire to defend Mongolian unity constantly manifested itself and prevailed for a certain period.

During the above-mentioned period, the international position of Mongolia was unstable because of the Mongolian rulers continuous warring with China and Tibet. Gradually the country came under the control of foreign invaders.

The Ming Dynasty of China formed in 1368 after the defeat of the Yuan Empire. It conducted a policy of revenge and aggression and caused a great deal of harm by eroding Mongolian unity. Those unfortunate circumstances of Mongolia's external and internal position badly affected the development of Buddhism in Mongolia. As mentioned above, at the time of Togoon-Timur (1378-1388) who ruled all of Mongolia in 1380, large forces from Ming China attacked Mongolia, destroying and plundering the city of Kara-Korum as well as causing great damage to the Mongolian culture and religion.

² Tsahar is one of the Mongolian national minorities.

Although the influence of Buddhism had decreased for a certain period, in the second half of the 16th century, Buddhism began to spread among the ordinary people. Mongolian state figures on the one hand and on the other hand religious dignitaries of Tibet played an important role in the cause of dissemination of Buddhism in Mongolia.

Buddhism, which spread in Mongolia a couple of centuries earlier, at the end of the 16th century became a public religion. During that period, there was a struggle between two Buddhist factions that came to be known as the Reds and the Yellows. In 1576, Tumenzasagu (1558-1593), the Emperor of Mongolia, invited Karma Lama of the Red religion from Tibet and promoted the development of religion.

Altan Khan Anand of Tumetu (1507-1583). Abtai Sain Khan (1554-1586) of Khalkha Mongol, Khutugtai Tsetsen Khuu taizi of Ordos (1540-1586) played an important role in the cause of propagation of Buddhism in connection with the Yellows, also called the Sect of the Yellow Hats.

Altan Khan presented to the Third Dalai Lama, Erdene Möngön Maḍala (gemmed silver maḍala offering) inlaid with gems and gold, 30 pure gold cups, ten white horses with golden saddles decorated with jewels. A monastery was founded in Khukhe Khot in 1579. By the order of Altan Khan, “Altangerel” (*suvar aprabhṛsa*) was re-translated in 1579. The Thekchen Choinhorling temple was erected in Tsavehil of Khukhe Nut, where Altan Khan first met the Third Dalai Lama.

In 1581-1583, Abtai Sain Khan (1554-1588) invited the Lamas Gumu Nansu and Samla Nansu from Tumet. Around 1578 he met with the Dalai Lama and, proclaiming the Yellow Sect of Buddhism the formal state religion, was given the title “Vajra Khan”. Abtai Sain also officially proclaimed the elimination of shamanism. He built the Erdene-Zhu monastery between 1585-1586, and in 1587 it was inaugurated.

The first Khenpo Lama of Erdene-Zhu had the title of “Pandit Guushi Chorje” and he himself made a statue of Sonam Gyatso, the Third Dalai Lama.

At the end of the 16th century and in the beginning of the 17th century, some seventy prominent cultural figures, including Danzindagva who wrote the grammar “Ogtorguin Maḷi” (gnam-mkainorbu), Bilguun-Guushi (Bilguun Dalai) of Uras and Choigyatso Gelen, translated *Kangyur* in 108 volumes, and it was printed by xylographic means in 1720 under the title *Golden Kangyur*. Two hundred years later, a commission was formed to translate the 226 volumes of the *Tengyur*. The commission consisted of dozens of famous scholars such as Rbyangya Rolbidorje (1717-1786) Guushi Shesrabyamtso, Gung Gombogyab and Dai Guushi Agwandanpel (1690-1780). In 1742, they compiled a Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary “Dag-yig-mkhas-bi-byun-gnas” and in 1749 they finished the translation of the *Tengyur*. Altogether, over 5000 books were included in the 334 volumes of the *Kangyur* and the *Tengyur*. It was a great achievement not only in the religious but also in the cultural history of Mongolia.

Under Gegeen (High Holiness) Zanabazar (1635-1723) played an extremely important role in the history of the Buddhist religion of the 17th century. The activities of Under Gegeen Lobsangdambigyaltzen or Jezundamba Hutugtu, the first, were devoted to religious organizational work, development of religion and religious art. Under Gegeen was born in 1635 in the family of Tushietu Khan Gombodorje, one of the most influential figures of Khalkha. Agwa Lobsang Gyatso, the Fifth Dalai Lama awarded him the title “Jebzundamba Hutugtu”, considering him sanctity of Jonon Kungha-nyambo. In 1639, Zanabazar was made the head of the Mongolian religion. The appointment of the head of a united religious leadership was of great importance for further development of Buddhism. Zanabazar played an important role in setting up temples and monasteries and in particular in the establishment of future Ikhe-Khuriye, or Urge.

In 1651, Zanabazar returned from Tibet and set up the foundation of future Ikhe-Khuriye-Ripogejoi-Ganden-Shadubling in 1651 with the purpose of establishment of the Buddhist Centre on the advice of the Dalai Lama and Banchen Erdene Lobsangchojigyaltsen.

Originally, the Indian, Tibetan and Chinese styles dominated in the Mongolian monastery architecture, but at the end of the 10th century there came into existence a Mongolian architecture. During the years of Oirat-Khalkha battles, 1688-1697, Erdene Zhu and Ikhe Khurive suffered serious damage. But Zanabazar built pagodas, shrines and Ripogejoingdah-shadubling, repaired and built places for Lamas. Zanabazar brought from Tibet the complete *Tengyur* in 1671, and *Kangyur* in 1683. He also made a translation of some religious sūtras, and in 1686 he devised the “Soyombo script”. The *Nītha* was translated in the Soyombo scripts and printed. Zanabazar lived in Peking and often visited Mongolia and took part in religious activities. Zanabazar was a very skillful man. In 1651, he made statues of “Vajratara” (now it is preserved in Ganden Theckchenling monastery) and “Tavan yazguuriin burkhan” (holy images of five origins). Mongolian historians consider Zanabazar to be the founder of the Mongolian style of painting.

At the beginning of the 17th century, moving and settled monasteries were set up as the Bulnai pagoda, Daichun Khosun pagoda, Erchis Temple and Boroo Talyn Temple in Oirat.

Since Buddhism had spread all over Mongolia at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, in 1640 it was proclaimed the state religion by the law of “Mongol-Oirat Code” and monasteries and high Lamas were given extensive rights and privileges. With the development of Buddhism, shamanism was eliminated on the one hand and on the other hand some ritual systems of it were changed.

Compared to shamanism, Buddhism played a much more important role in the development of enlightenment of the Mongolian society of that period. Replacing the shamanistic rituals, Buddhism helped to spread the cultural achievements of India and Tibet in the Mongolian land.

The spread of Buddhism in Mongolia helped to foil the strong influence of the Chinese ideology and served as one of the main factors in preventing the assimilation of the Mongols into China.

Due to the adoption of Buddhism, the sparsely populated Mongolia was connected spiritually in one worship. At times it

also served as an important factor in promoting the unification of the country politically.

In connection with the increase of the number of monasteries and temples in the 18th-19th centuries monks grew rapidly in number. In 1785 in Great Shabi alone, monks at monasteries and temples numbered 15,000. In all of Khalkha Mongolia there were approximately 70,000 monks. In 1868, in Ikhe Kuriye (Great Enclosure) there were over 10,000 monks.

Besides religious conviction, such rapid increase in the number of monks was also due to economic factors. Those who took the vows of a monk were freed from military service as well as from official obligations and services to which others were ordinary subjected. Monks also enjoyed certain privileges over laymen since they received alms and because theirs was a position held in respect by society.

The first incarnation of the Bogda Jebzundamba, the  nder Gegeen (High Holiness) Zanabazar, remained as the head of the Mongolia Yellow Sect of Buddhism even after Mongolia was conquered by the Manchus, and he was considered and revered as the Holiest of the Holy Lamas in Khalkha Mongolia.

In 1723, the Manchu Emperor conferred the title of “the promoter of Religion” to the Holy Jebzundamba and presented him with a gold seal, a diploma on golden leaves. A special ministry was set up - Erdene shanzodba, to administer the  nder Gegeen Jebzundamba’s subjects. The  nder Gegeen passed away in Peking in 1723 at the age of 88. Afterwards, the Manchu Emperor promoted to the second incarnation of Jebzundamba son of Darkhan Ching Wang D ndubdorji, his son-in-law and close relative of Tusiyetu Khan Gombodorji. All the titles, distinctions and privileges conferred upon His Holiness the  nder Gegeen were passed to the Second Bogda so it became tradition that later incarnations inherited the titles, distinctions and privileges of the previous ones. Pretending to show their respect for the Second Bogda for his service in suppressing the national liberation movement of Mongols in 1755-1757, the Manchus conferred upon the Second Bogda the title “Promoter of Happiness for All Living Beings” in addition to the previous one “the Promoter of the

Religion". However, in 1758, discovering the Second Bogda supported the national liberation movement, they had him murdered.

The anti-Manchu national Liberation movement of 1755-1757 was launched by the Mongols. The Manchus were aware of the influence of the Bogda and others who were capable of attracting others to the movement and of uniting the forces of the Mongols to resist the Manchus. So, all the later incarnations of Jebzundamba were from Tibet.

From the second half of the 17th century, when Ikhe Kuriye was founded, Buddhist education in Mongolia was systematized. Ikhe Kuriye was a major centre of Buddhist culture in Mongolia for several centuries. At the height of its influence, there were over ten thousand monks studying in Ikhe Kuriye. In general, at each monastery in Mongolia there existed a Buddhist school where, in addition to the Buddhist teaching, language, theory of literature, medicine, astrology, history and art were taught. Among the Mongolian Buddhist schools, the Buddhist University at Ganden, founded in 1739, was very popular, not only in Mongolia but in all of the East. Mongolian Ikhe Kuriye was the official religious centre. But Ganden was different due to its liberal reformation. Ganden was set up as a philosophical school to teach the highest doctrine of Buddhism. In fact, most prominent scholars of Buddhism graduated from this University and spiritual life at Ganden was conducted in the form of lively discussions and debates. At that time, in Buddhist schools of Mongolia the Buddhist teaching was the major subject of study. Additionally, it was of primary importance for training monks to perform all kinds of religious rituals at numerous monasteries. They were also taught the five great sciences and the five small sciences which were introduced in Mongolia simultaneously with Buddhism. According to the ancient Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian tradition, the five great sciences were philology, logic, technology, Buddhist doctrine and medicine, and the five small sciences being astrology, theory of literature, allegorical poetics and playwriting.

At Buddhist schools, students first studied reading and were trained to recite those readings by heart. The second stage was to

study, in various faculties, or *atsuns*. Faculties were the most important seats of religious education and almost every monastery had its own faculties. In Mongolian monasteries there were mostly faculties of philosophy, medicine, Mantra, Tantra and astrology. There were over ten faculties in Ikhe Kuriye. The faculty of Tantra was founded in 1739, the faculty of philosophy in 1756, the faculty of medicine in 1760, the faculty of astrology in 1779, and the faculty of Mantra in 1790.

Scholarly lamas of Mongolia translated works, most of which were on Buddhist philosophy, particularly in the 18-19th centuries. Certain works by Mongol monks have been highly valued by European Buddhist scholars as well as modern Mongolian scholars. According to the second volume of *The History of the Mongolian People's Republic*, most scholarly monks thoroughly studied Lokāyata or ancient Indian naive materialism, dialectics, logic and the history of Buddhist philosophy. They also compiled books defending the progressive heritage of these subjects. One of the prominent representatives was Agvanbaldan. He modestly describes his work called *Commentary on the Fixed Great Tenet* as a commentary on the *Great Tenet* by the Tibetan philosopher Jamiyanshadab (1644-1723). In fact, Agvanbaldan's work is a monograph on the history and theory of philosophy of ancient India. This great work covers not only history, ideology and the theory of Buddhism, but also various fixed tenets and problems of theory.

Various religious books appeared in xylographic print and there were many xylographic printing shops. Such shops existed in the Ikhe Kuriye Holy Lama's Monastery, Uizen Wang Monastery, Mangkhan Kuriye, Choir Monastery, Müren Monastery, Ülgei Monastery, Khalkha Temple, Sartul Monastery and elsewhere.

Buddhism had strongly influenced all spheres of spiritual life of Mongolian society as well as natural history, particularly historiography, philology, translation, printing, architecture, mathematics, astrology and so on, as well as medicine and veterinary. Under the influence of Buddhism at each major Buddhist monastery there was a workshop to produce Buddhist images, various objects related to religious services, for erecting

temples and other buildings and for doing decorative work. Various unique works of Buddhist art are still kept in a number of monasteries and museums of the Mongolian People's Republic.

In short, Buddhist ideology, theory and teaching widely penetrated daily life of Mongols from birth to death and life was directly under the blessing of monks. However, as a result of the growing number of monasteries and temples, monks, incarnations and saints becoming less zealous towards religious services, by the middle of the 19th century Buddhism was on the decline.

Among higher-ranking monks, there was rivalry for fame and they set up their own temples so that the number of monasteries and temples rapidly increased. In the mid-18th century there existed 120 monasteries in Mongolia. That number grew in the second half of the 19th century, reaching 750. There were differences between higher and lower ranking monks and the discord between them deepened. There was a growing number of monks who, instead of truly studying the Buddhist teaching and helping all the living beings by performing meritorious deeds, were egoists, doing everything for their own benefit, for wealth, authority and reputation. There also appeared a new reforming tendency aimed at ultimately fulfilling the sacred religious doctrine and eliminating all kinds of weakness of monks, such as pursuing their own interests and violating their vows. The modernists tried to purge Mongolian Lamaism from various violations and to pursue the faith in accordance with the form of the ancient Buddhist teaching, to make lamas fulfill their vows as ancient Indian Buddhist monks did, to live modestly and to follow the Buddhist doctrine only.

Although the Lamaism in Mongolia suffered a crisis, lamas were a powerful and influential force in Mongolian society. They became stronger both economically and ideologically, and gradually gained political power. This was vividly manifested in the period of the monarchy (1911-1919), headed by the Bogda Khan.

3. Buddhism in Contemporary Mongolia

By the beginning of the 20th century, a replacement of feudal relations and social progress was of primary importance for Mongolian national interest, and an immediate task for the country's further development. It was also a just and historic task to solve the problem of lamas in the interests of the nation.

The victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution in 1921 prepared the way for the solution of these tasks necessitated by historical development.

The Chinese occupationists and the Russian "white guards" who escaped from the October Revolution came to Mongolia, oppressing and plundering our people. Mongolian monasteries and lamas also suffered much. The Chinese occupation arrested the Head of the religion, the Jebzundamba Hutugtu, under the pretext that he was engaged in a conspiracy against the Chinese. They fired cannons at the Ganden Theckchenling Monastery in Ikhe Kuriye, plundered over 20 larger monasteries, such as Dambadargya and Shadublin monasteries near Ikhe Kuriye, Eastern Choir of Borjgin Tsetsen Wang Banner of the Tsetsen Khan aimak (now Sumber somon of the East Gobi province), Eastern Ganden Ishchoilin Monastery of Ilden Wang Banner of Sain Noyan Khan aimak (now Zuil somon of Uberkhangai aimak) and others, attacked monks, robbed their wealth and killed them. Like the Chinese, the white guard destroyed many monasteries such as Yarinpil Monastery in Erdene Beis Banner of Zasagt Khan aimak (present Darvi somon of Gobi-Altai aimak), the monastery of Batar Wang Banner (present Khukhe Morit somon of Gobi-Altai aimak) etc., and killed many lamas. The cruelty of foreign oppressors caused the lamas to fight against them. Many lamas joined the struggle of the common people in defending their faith, state and the motherland from the foreign invaders. Among them were Khas-bator, A. Gonchig, J. Jamiyangombo and other patriots who selflessly fought in the struggle for their country and for a happy and peaceful life of their people.

By the People's Revolution of 1921, the Mongolian people were liberated from internal and external exploitation. Religion

was separated from the state, religious worship became a voluntary matter of believers and the Bogda Jebzundamba became the Head of the religion. Until he passed away in 1924, he was proclaimed as the Head of the state pluralistically.

During the year of the Revolution, the government policy on voluntary religious worship was consistently pursued. But, in the beginning of the 1930's, during the left-wing deviation, monks were forced to abandon their vows. Some monasteries and temples were destroyed. The people's power stopped all these violations and guaranteed believers the freedom of worship without any fear, revealed and corrected every manifestation of infringing upon, insulting and using administrative measures against worshippers,

The separation of religion from the state and the freedom of worship provided the important basis for the just solution of religious and monastery problems in the interests of the country and the people. On this basis, the Constitution reads as follows on the separation of state from religion. "Since the teachings of the |ākyamuni do not run counter to the present-day state rule, freedom and science, the people's power of our country feels sympathy towards the |ākyamuni religion and guarantees its observance, learning and dissemination within the frame of the law".

To make it easy to understand the measures taken during the people's power on the problems of monasteries and lamas, the following points should be touched upon: First. In connection with the introduction of voluntary worship after the people's revolution, the former system of compulsory duties of the people to cover certain expenditures of the monasteries was liquidated.

Second. The separation of religious affairs from state affairs was implemented and the unjust system of exploitation of people was eliminated. In addition, following the Buddhist compassionate idea and equality, the lay serfs of the Bogda Gegeen and other saints were liberated from tax to their masters and furthermore, the system of exploiting lay people under the name of lay serfs was fully liquidated.

Third. For strengthening the nation through promoting nondiscrimination, all citizens of Mongolia were equally subjected

to a just system of state tax. This was achieved by introducing taxation for the private property and cattle of the incarnated and saints who were formerly exempt.

Following the Buddhist teaching of not striving for property and with a view toward dissuading monasteries from acquiring wealth by means of trade and usury, a tax was imposed upon monastery property.

Those lamas who became laymen and were interested in modern civilization, technology, industry and agriculture were also allowed to engage in business, transportation and handicraft. They were recruited on a voluntary basis to work at industrial enterprises and lamas' artels. Thus, lamas started to be engaged in socially useful labor.

Many lamas left monasteries, becoming laymen, and the number of people becoming lamas diminished year by year. For instance, in 1935, over 2,000 boys of 18 years of age lived in the monasteries to become lamas. In 1937, this figure was reduced to 700.

A number of high-ranking lamas in cooperation with foreign aggressors organized uprisings, spreading rumors against the party and government. Due to the reactionary activities of high-ranking lamas, young people and some of the middle lamas and believers were separated from them and the temples and monasteries. At the same time, their reactionary actions led the left-wing extremists to launch a severe attack on religion and monasteries, enabling them to interfere with religious practices in violation of the law. However, the party and the government of the country quickly corrected the reactionary actions of the leftists. As a result, monasteries were able to resume their service for believers.

From the second half of 1930, the external situation for Mongolia became very critical. For defending the country's security, a number of monasteries situated along the frontier were moved deep into the territory. Many poor monks, mostly young lamas, became laymen and many monastery premises were closed. Those monastery premises vacated in this way were used for local schools, hospitals and cultural organizations. While some monasteries were closed because of the absence of lamas, others

had a shortage of them. In 1950, a united centre of Mongolian Buddhists was set up to constantly and freely meet the demands of believers.

In this way, the separation of the state from religious affairs prevented hostile actions that could divert men of religion from their sacred tasks and disgrace the reputation of religion. The separation offered broad opportunities to the monasteries and lamas to concentrate their efforts on humane objectives for the benefit of all sentient beings and of the cause of peace.

At present, the Mongolian Buddhists centre, the Ganden Tekchenling Monastery, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic on the rights of the citizens to worship, takes care of the needs of the believers. There are daily services of worship of the Lord Buddha and other deities and various religious ceremonies and rituals are performed as always. During New Year celebrations according to the Lunar Calendar, the Ganden Tekchenling monastery annually conducts great ceremonial observances over twenty days, calling for a happy and rich life, free from diseases for the Mongols in the coming new year. Similar ceremonies are conducted on the 8th, 15th, 29th and 30th of each month. There are also two services at the request of believers who want to confess their sins and to refresh their vows. Several special services are also conducted dedicated to the Lord Buddha's birthday, preaching his Dharma and his meritorious deeds for the benefits of all living beings. A special service is performed in commemoration of the birthday of Bogda Tsong khapa founder of the Yellow Sect of Buddhism. During the summer months, when living beings are born and grass grows, in order not to destroy sentient beings, a 45-day service is performed. During that period, lamas, besides praying, also read and study Buddhist literature in a well-organized way. Thus, Ganden Tekchenling, besides its own observances, performs annually over 20 types of different services. Special services are arranged at the request of believers, from praying for the dead to the reciting of *Kangyur* printed in gold. The believers revering the Holy Buddha, in order to do good deeds in commemoration of the Buddha, request that some major works by the Buddha and others be

recited, for example, the 108 volumes of *Kangyur* and its detailed commentary, the 225 volumes of *Tengyur*, great sutras consisting of above eight thousand verses, volumes of *Prajñā Pāramitā* and other sūtras. At the request of believers, the monastery also holds services symbolizing benevolence, performing meritorious deeds, purification from sins and other services related to daily life. These make up 30 percent of the services performed at the request of believers annually. At present, the Ganden Thekchenling Monastery performs 34 types of services. In general, all Mongolian Buddhist monasteries perform permanent services to meet the needs of the believers. Not a single day passes without some service or ritual. This is tangible evidence of the fact, that in present-day socialist Mongolia everybody has the right to worship and can use this right in reality. In our country, all religious worship is voluntary and monasteries do not force people to believe.

The Mongolian Buddhist monasteries and believers, preserving the traditional Buddhist heritage, do their utmost in studying the history of Buddhism and Buddhist culture, as well as in translating Buddhist books, compiling, commenting and printing, and in restoring historical monuments. At the Ganden Monastery, there is a special group of scholarly and skillful lamas engaged in this work. Suffice it to mention some of their recent achievements. They registered and collected Buddhist books and historical monuments, and classified them. Also, they have continued searching for some missing parts of the sacred books and prepared a catalogue.

The Ganden Thekchenling Monastery library, with its rich collection, is one of the world's major centers of studies on Buddhist history and culture. Over 70,000 volumes of Tibetan books are treasured there.

The *Dharmapāda* and *Udānavarga*, two important works on ancient Buddhist philosophy which have been drawing the attention of Buddhist scholars, have been translated into Mongolian, with the prefaces and commentaries both in Tibetan and Mongolian. Works by Mongol scholars on the Tibetan on Buddhist philosophy, history, philology, art, poetry, mathematics, astronomy, medicine and veterinary have been studies and

registered in detail, and on the basis of this there appeared several reference books. At the same time, a thorough study has been made on Tibetan/Mongolian dictionaries compiled at different times, out of which several better ones have been republished. Research on terminological dictionaries and dictionaries of synonyms in the field of philology are of great importance for studies of the Buddhist cultural heritage in Mongolia.

History of Buddhism in Mongolia by lama-historian Sh. Damdin, *History of Buddhism in Mongolia* by Darmadalai and other unique books on the history of Buddhism were translated from Tibetan into Mongolia. Lama Shadubdandar, correcting various mistakes in *Kangyur* that occur in various Tibetan editions, published an important book which made it possible to restore the original text. A history of the Ganden Thekchenling Monastery and an interesting book entitled *White Lotus of Peace* have also been published.

The skillful lamas of the Ganden Thekchenling Monastery have reconstructed old monasteries and temples of historic value, and now they are engaged in repairing the functioning temples. In commemoration of Buddha's 2500th anniversary, they created a large Buddha image, a stūpa, and engraved a Mañjusrī image on a rock. They also decorated the interior of the large reception yurt of the Ganden Thekchenling Monastery, the ABCP Headquarters building and the Buddhist Institute.

At the Ganden Thekchenling Monastery there is the Buddhist Institute to train young monks who become disciples of the monastery. They study the ancient Mongolian sūtra language, Tibetan, history of Buddhism, Buddhist logic, philosophy and psychology. The most scholarly and experienced lamas of the monastery teach the novices.

All the clergy of Mongolia and believers, following strictly the sacred teachings of the Lord Buddha, offering up daily prayers to the Exalted One for universal peace and prosperity of the entirety of humankind, direct their every effort towards the establishment of a durable peace all over the world.

As a member of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, the Mongolian Buddhist Centre has actively participated in its General

Conferences and other undertakings, and pursued its own activities aimed at achieving a lasting peace. It calls on the fellow Buddhists of other countries to make their contribution to the sacred cause of peace all over the world.

Our Centre maintains friendly relations with Buddhist Centers in over 30 countries of the world, invites friends in the Dharma to visit our country and gives provides them with the opportunity to get acquainted with the religious life in our country. During recent years, we have received Buddhist delegations from Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, the USSR, Laos, Vietnam, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

At the end of 1960's when the war in Indo-China was expanded, endangering peace in Asia and the world over, by the joint efforts of Buddhist dignitaries of some Asian Buddhist countries and with the view to promoting joint activities of Asian Buddhist for peaceful cooperation, they founded in 1970 the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace, which was an event of great importance. The Mongolian National Centre, as a member of this international authoritative organization, takes an active part in its activities.

The Mongolian Buddhist Centre constantly participates in major international undertakings aimed at preventing war and aggression, resolving disputes through peaceful means, ending the arms race, working for a comprehensive disarmament, ending the production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and securing lasting peace.

PROSPERITY OF CHINESE BUDDHISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD PEACE

Baoxu Zhao

The issue of world peace is the most important and most pressing one in the world politics of today, and safeguarding world peace has become a common task of primary importance for the Peoples of all countries. Recently, I have lived in Europe for a year, where I saw it with my own eyes that the peoples of the European countries are taking an active part in struggle against nuclear weapons, nuclear threat and nuclear arms race by every means. They oppose the deployment of both the SS-20 and the Peshing II missiles.

Yet, our conference held in Japan and attended by the scholars from all the parts of the world, I think, is of more great importance. As we all know, Japan is the first victim of atom bomb in human history (I wish no country would be the second one.) So, first of all, allow me to express my sympathy and solicitude for the Japanese people suffered from nuclear disaster caused by the two atom bombs dropped here 40 years ago, whose sequelate are still being seen. Allow me to extend my heartfelt respects to the great Japanese people and the outstanding Japanese peace fighters who have persevered for 29 years in the movement against atomic and

hydrogen bombs since the first World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in 1955.

Now permit me introduce briefly the development of Chinese Buddhism and its contribution to the cause for world peace.

1. Flourishing Development of Buddhism in Contemporary China

It has been two thousand years since the arrival of Buddhism in China. In early 2 BCE, Buddhism was first introduced to China while it spread as a formal religion in CE 67 (East Han Dynasty). During Wei, Jin Dynasties (CE 220-420) and Northern and Southern Dynasties (CE 420-589) Buddhism spread throughout the country and was in full flourish in Sui and Tang Dynasties.¹

Having arrived in China, Buddhism gave a great impulse to the development of Chinese culture. Traces of Buddhism are clearly discernible in Chinese philosophy, ethics, literature, art and other cultural areas. Chinese Buddhism was handed down from

¹ All the doctrines of Indian Buddhism, including that at the early, middle and late stages of its development, have been introduced to China. Mahāyāna (Greater Vehicle) Buddhism, developed during the middle stage of Indian Buddhism, arrived in China's Han area in the 2nd century CE. This evolved into Chinese Buddhism. Afterwards, it spread to Korea, Japan, Vietnam and other Asian Countries and regions. In 7th century CE, Buddhism was introduced to Chinese Tibet respectively from the Chinese Han area, India and Nepal. While from the 11th century CE on, Tantrism (esoteric Buddhism), which flourished at the late stage of Indian Buddhist development, was introduced to a great extent to Tibet and evolved Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism), which is believed by Tibetan, Mongolian, Man, Tu, Qang, Yugu and other Chinese minorities. It was also introduced to Sikkim, Bhutan, Mongolia and some European and American countries. During the period of King Aśoka (273-232 CE), Āryasthāvirānikāya, shaped at the early stage of Indian Buddhism development, spread southward to Sri Lanka and then to Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos evolving the Pāli Buddhism. After the 10th century, it spread to the Chinese Yunan Province through Burma and is mainly believed by Dai, Baking, Benglong, Wa and other Chinese minorities. Differentiating by languages of its scriptures, Buddhism is currently divided into three branches: Chinese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism) and Pāli Buddhism. All the three branches of Buddhism are coexisting in China and two of them: Chinese Buddhism and Lamaism have even emerged and grown up there.

generation to generation. Its factions stood in great numbers and its different schools contended with each other bequeathing to us a wealth of important cultural heritage. Over two thousand years or so, despite hardship, many eminent monks and scholars went to pilgrimage to India for Buddhist scriptures, translated them into Chinese, cut blocks for printing and sermonizing among the masses. They left a great deal of Buddhist works.² Some original scriptures have been lost in India, but their Chinese versions, sometimes even original copies, are well preserved in our country. Spreading in China, Buddhism propagated its religious doctrines vividly with the aid of highly developed Chinese art. Conversely, it also enriched Chinese culture and gave an impulse to the development of Chinese painting, carving and handicraft art. There are many remains of Buddhist art in China, e.g., the Dunhuang frescoes, Stone Carvings and Grottos in Yungang, Longmen, and Maiji Mount, the architectures of the Tibetan Potala Palace, and South Buddhist Temple (in Shanxi), Leshan Great Buddha (in Sichuan), the Wild Goose Pagoda (in Xian), The Steel Pagoda (in Kaifeng) as well as the Fangshan Stone Scriptures (in Beijing). All of these are priceless treasure of Buddhist art.

After the Sui and Tang Dynasties, Chinese Buddhism went downhill gradually. The year 1940 witnessed the Opium War. Afterwards, China was reduced to the status of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. This weaken of the country impaired the healthy development of Buddhism, which was seriously contaminated by superstition and ignorance in some regions. Although many eminent monks dedicated themselves to the revival

² Buddhist Scriptures preserved in China are vast. With respect to Chinese Buddhism, there are the 1482 sets of translated scriptures containing 5702 volumes (excluding the retranslated texts it is still 4400 volumes). In addition, the important Buddhist works in Chinese language total 100,000 volumes. At present, China is editing the “Chinese Tripitaka” (“Chinese Great Scripture Store”) including 23,000 volumes. As to Lamaism, the Tibetan Tripitaka “Bka’-’Gyur” includes 5962 sets of translated scriptures. The Tibetan Buddhist works are also enormous. Besides, there are large numbers of translated scriptures in Dai language (Pāli Buddhist Scriptures) and Dai Buddhist works.

of Chinese Buddhism, they were incapable of action due to the limited social conditions.

Chinese Buddhism had not any opportunity to revive until the founding of New China in 1949.

In 1953, the Chinese Buddhist Association, a nationwide united organization of the Buddhist disciples of different schools and nationalities, was established in New China. On May 30, 1953, 120 representatives of Living Buddhas, Lamas, Masters and Lay Buddhists of seven nationalities (Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Dai, Man and so on) held the inaugural meeting of the Chinese Buddhist Association at Guangji Temple in Beijing. Afterwards, the Second and Third Representative Assemblies were held in 1957 and 1962 respectively. Until the “Cultural Revolution” in 1966, the Association developed smoothly. It did a great deal of work in Buddhist training, collating and publishing Buddhist Works and magazines, doing Buddhist studies, renovating Buddhist architectures, preserving and sorting out the Buddhist relics. Moreover, the regional associations of Buddhists were also established one after another in many provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions.

During the ten years of turmoil of the “Cultural Revolution“, Chinese Buddhism, as other cultural undertakings, experienced an unheard of calamity and was on the verge of extinction. Having smashed the “Gang of Four”, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government liquidated the pernicious influence of the “Left” line and brought order out of chaos. The Fourth Representative Assembly of the Chinese Buddhist Association held at the end of 1980, was attended by 250 representatives of Buddhist circles of eight nationalities (Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Dai, Man, Tu, Yugu and Naxi) from 27 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. This Assembly marked the turning point when Chinese Buddhism began to revive after a number of false starts during the ten years of turmoil.

At present, the flourishing development of Chinese Buddhism finds expression mainly in the following respects:

First, large numbers of Buddhist temples in both Han’s and minorities’ regions have been renovated and reopened. Many of

them are widely known places of historic interest and scenic beauty, e.g. four famous mountains (Wutai, Emei, Putuo and Jiuhua), Yonghe Palace and Fayuan Temple in Beijing. Longhua Temple and Yuanming Rostrum in Shanghai, Guoqing Temple in Tiantai Mountain (Zhejiang Province), Tiantong Temple and Yuwang Temple in Ningbo, Qixia Temple and Jiming Temple in Nanjing, Daming Temple in Yangzhou, Xiangji Temple in Xian, Qianshan Longquan Temple in Lisoning, Xishi Convent in Guangxi, Tibetan Gandan Temple in Lhasa, Tibetan Tashilhunpo Temple in Shigatse and so on. The religious activities at these temples and that of other Buddhist groups are smoothly under way in the light of Buddhist regulations.

Second, good progress has been made in Buddhist education. The Chinese Buddhism College, with a research department, was set up in 1956, providing special, undergraduate and graduate courses. In 1962, it added a department of Tibetan language.

Before the “Cultural Revolution“, some hundreds of Buddhists with fairly high level of Buddhism were trained and brought up. After the collapse of the “Gang of Four“, the Buddhism institute reconstituted, teaching resumed. In 1982, 39 monk-students graduated. In the same year, this institute started an undergraduate course with 50 students studying there. In addition, it sent two graduates and four undergraduates to Japan for advanced studies. In November 1982, a special training school began at Qixiashan in Nanjing (presently a section of Chinese Buddhism College at Qixiashan), from which more than 160 monk-students have completed their studies. In Suzhou, Fujian, Shanghai, Chengdu, the Buddhism Colleges, including that for monks and for Bhikṣus, have been set up; in Tibet, Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan, the Lamaism Colleges (Tibetan Buddhism Colleges) have been also established. Moreover, many principal temples are often training local Young monks.

Third, the publishing of Buddhist Scriptures and works develops very rapidly. After the rebuilding of the famous “Jinling Kejing-Chu” (Jinling Block Printing Scriptures Service), which was first set up in 1865, it collected many blocks of scriptures and supplied the missing parts.

Being the center with 150,000 blocks of scriptures and Buddhist pictures, it has printed a vast amount of Buddhist books and pictures including the important works of different Buddhist schools, complete works of Xuanzang (Tripa↑ak□c□rya) and his translations.³ It also produced gold-plating pictures of figure of Buddha and Buddhist pictures in Tibetan style.

The academic studies of Buddhism are widely organized. The “Beijing-Sanshi society” (a well-known Institute of Buddhism Studies in China founded in 1911) did a lot of work in translating Buddhist Scriptures and works, collating historical materials of Buddhism and doing Buddhism studies. At the request of the Buddhist circles of Sri Lanka, Chinese scholars are held responsible for the drafts of more than 400 entries (2 million words) of the *Buddhism Encyclopedia* (English edition). Since 1956, we have made many investigations into Beijing Fangshan Stone Scriptures. Through three years’ excavation, we have taken seven sets of rubbings (totaling 14,270 pieces). Thus, this rare treasure could be once more opened up before our eyes and demonstrates their mystical charm. It was carved in flagstone and took a thousand years, from Jin Dynasty to the later Ming, to complete. It was then hidden in nine stone caves and under the “Yajing

³ The famous Chinese Buddhist Scholars Ouyang Jian and Lu Cheng dedicated ten years (from 1927 to 1937) to choosing 70 sets of sutras, commentaries, treaties from a tremendous amount of Chinese Buddhist scriptures and updated three volumes of “Zangyao” (“Essentials of the Tripa↑aka”). Checking the Chinese translations against the original texts in Sanskrit and Pāli languages and the Tibetan translated texts. Lu Cheng compared the different editions including Song, Yuan, Ming and Post-Ming Dynasties, as well as the Korean edition, and finally made corrections or indicated their differences on it. Therefore, the three-volume *Zangyao* is of great academic value. However, because of limitation of printing, they remained rare. Previously, a Taiwan Buddhist circle published a photo-offset copy of the second volume of *Zangyao*. Since this is the only volume they preserved, it is difficult to find the other two volumes. The Chinese “Jinling Kejingchu” in Nanjing (“Jinling Block Printing Scriptures Service”) preserves the paper mould of all three volumes. In the year (1984) this article was written, China embarked on a printing project aimed at their circulation.

Pagoda”.⁴ From then on we began to make a serious investigation of principal Buddhist Pagodas throughout the country. We have published 144 issues of “Modern Buddhism” and started to publish the comprehensive Buddhism magazine “Dharmagho•a” (The Voice of Dharma) in 1981. Now “Dharmagho•a” has been published to the 15th issue. Every issue prints 14,000 copies. In May 1980, the Chinese Buddhist library was set up with a collection of 12,000 volumes of Buddhist works and valuable relics.⁵ Moreover, it is editing and publishing a large amount of Buddhist translations.

⁴ The initial results have been the collating and study of Fangshan Stone Scriptures. We have completed the catalogue of the “Stone Scriptures”, collated the preface and postscript of the scriptures and compiled the book “Fangshan Liuju Temple Stone Scriptures”. In this process it has been determined that the master copy of the Stone Scriptures carved in the Liao Period was a writing from the Lao Period, *Qidanjing* (the “Qidan canon”), which had been lost long before. This is an important find in the history of Tripaṭaka printing.

⁵ In May 1980, the Chinese Buddhist Library was set up at the Fayuan Temple in Beijing. Through gradual replenishment, it has begun to take shape. Now it preserves 120,000 Tibetan books. For Scriptures only, it collects Fangshan Stone Scriptures, different editions of the Tripaṭaka including Nancang (printed in 1412-17), Beicang (printed in 1421-40), Jiaxingcang (printed in 1589-1677) and Qingke (printed in the Qing Dynasty) as well as several editions of the Tibetan Tripaṭaka: “Bka’-’gyur” (“Translation of the Buddha-Word”) and “Bstan-’gyur” (“Translation of Teachings”). The Rare Book Room in the Library preserves handwritten scriptures from the Tang Dynasty and rare copies of Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties block printed scriptures and other works. In addition, collecting large number of valuable relics, the library has renovated a seven meter-long Ming Dynasty Wooden Figure of Sleeping Buddha and other Buddhist relics.

In recent years, the Chinese Buddhist Association compiled and translated a large number of the important Buddhist works, e.g. it translated *Pramāṇasamuccaya* written by the Indian Hetuvidyā scholar Master Dignāga in 5th century and its commentary *Pramāṇa-vārttika* written by the Indian Hetuvidyā scholar Dharmakīrti from Tibetan into Chinese. These two works are comprehensive expression of the Hetuvidyā and attract a special attention by the scholars studying Hetuvidyā and Logic. The late Chancellor of the Chinese Buddhism College, famous Tibetan scholar Ven. Fazhun translated these two works into Chinese and compiled “Brief Explanation of *Pramāṇa-vārttika*” in the light of “Dashu” (“Nyāyapravṛttatārakāśāstra-bhāṣya”) written by first

II. The Contacts between Chinese Buddhists and Their Colleagues of the Other Countries and Their Joint Efforts in Safeguarding World Peace

In recent years, the contacts between Chinese Buddhists and their colleagues of the other countries are over the world have always been frequent. It is, by itself, one of the important steps for safeguarding world peace to contact with each other, to learn from each other and to cooperate on propagating Buddhist spirit. Moreover, Chinese Buddhist circles often sponsor and actively participate in every international activities of international Buddhist or religious circles for maintaining world peace.

It was early October 1952, when the Peace Conference of Pacific-Asian Region was held in Beijing. The representative of Chinese Buddhist circles with the Buddhist representatives of Burma, Japan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Laos, Malaysia and Vietnam issued the “statement of Buddhists attending Peace Conference of Pacific Region”, demonstrating their wish and determination to be friendly and cooperate in safeguarding world peace.

Dalai Lama Dge-'Dun Grub-Pa (1391-1474). Moreover, he translated “Saṃdhinirmocanavūhasūtra-bhāṣya” (late six volumes) from Tibetan into Chinese which are the fundamental works among the “Liujing Shiyilun” (“Six Scriptures and Eleven Treatises”) of Buddhist Faxiang. These works were written by Ven. Yuance (A.D. 613-696, Tang Dynasty) and had been lost before Qing Dynasty. In the late Qing the Lay Buddhist Yang Renshan found the first part of the works but its late six volumes were missed. While the Tibetan Scripture “Bka’-’gyur” includes the full translated text of “Saṃdhinirmocanavūhasūtra-bhāṣya” translated from Chinese by late Tang’s Master Fachen. A member of the Standing Council of the Chinese Buddhist Association, the famous Tibetan language specialist Ven. Guankong, translated the last six volumes of “Saṃdhinirmocanavūhasūtra-bhāṣya” bringing the Chinese version of this work to full strength. Besides, the member of the Council of the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Pāli language specialist and Lay Buddhist Yejun translated from Pāli the important works *Visuddhimagga* written by the Indian Master Buddhaghoṣa in 5th century. In addition, China has also published the *Series of Academy Books on Chinese Buddhism, Story of Chinese Buddhism, Questions and Answers on the Knowledge of Buddhism* (written by the Lay Buddhist Zhao Puchu) and other Buddhist books.

In this meeting, the Lay Buddhist Zhao Puchu, a famous Buddhist scholar and leader of peace movement, on behalf of Chinese Buddhist circles asked the Japanese Representative to present a Figure of “Guanyin” (Avalokiteśvara) to Japanese Buddhist circles. Next year the Chinese Buddhist Association received warm reply from Japanese Buddhist circles. That was the start of the contacts between the Buddhists of the two countries after the founding of New China. Being a symbol of peace and friendship, Bodhisattva Guanyin is respected by both Japanese and Chinese Buddhist disciples. From then on the contacts of Chinese Buddhist circles with that of the other countries have begun.

From the inception, the friendly contacts of Sino-Japanese Buddhists have been carrying out an important task to heal the wounds of war and maintain world peace. In 1953, the “Executive Committee of Making Offerings to Spirits of Chinese Martyrs’ Died in Japan” headed by Ven. Keijun Ōtani and Ven. Sugahara Eke was established that collected remains of the dead buried beneath some dozens of Japanese mines, ports and military engineering and returned them to China in nine separate groups. At the same time, China made everything convenient for 30,060 Japanese aliens living in China to return to Japan. The Lay Buddhist Zhao Puchu took part in repatriating them home. He went to Shanghai to see them off and addressed himself to them.

In 1961, the movement to collect signatures for the pledge of “No war between China and Japan” initiated by Ven. Onishi Ryoke and Ven. Keijun Ōtani, united many well-known figures around the banner of Sino-Japanese friendship. In May of the same year, Ven. Keijun Ōtani and Ven. Nishikawa Kaibun visited China and gave the signature book to the Chinese Buddhist Association with their own hands. On behalf of the Association, the Lay Buddhist Zhao Puchu accepted this valuable present.

Chinese Buddhists with the representatives of other circles went to Japan to attend the conference against Atomic and hydrogen bombs many times.

In 1962, 1963, the Buddhist and cultural circles of our two countries held the joint commemorative meetings for the 1200 anniversary of the death of Ven. Jianzhen. The normalization of

Sino-Japanese relations in 1972 was just the 20 years anniversary of Guanyin (Avalokiteśvara) arrival in Japan. From then on, the Buddhist organizations for Sino-Japanese friendship were set up one after another, and the contacts became even more frequent. The Buddhist disciples held religious meetings jointly, renovated temples, built styles, published Buddhist books, held exhibitions. It is of special importance that the sculpture of Ven. Jianzhen returned to China for roving exhibitions. This great event only once in a thousand years, laid a sound foundation for the friendship of generations of the two peoples.

In 1961 and 1964, the Chinese Buddhist circles together with other Chinese religious circles organized a delegation and attended the 1st and 2nd Peace conference of the religious disciples of all countries in Japan.

Moreover, the friendly contacts of the Chinese Buddhist circles with the Buddhist circles of the Southeast Asian countries are also very frequent. For example, the representatives of Chinese Buddhist circles and those of India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos and Indonesia visited each other often. In 1955 and 1961, at request of Burma and Sri Lanka Chinese Buddhist relics and tooth relic of Buddha were sent to the two countries so that the local peoples visit them with reverence. In 1956, the Chinese Buddhist delegates went respectively to Burma, India and Nepal to attend the international Commemorative activities for the 2500 anniversary of Buddha's nirvana. In January 1963, in order to support the just struggle of Buddhists in South Vietnam against persecution by their reactionary authorities, the Chinese Buddhist circles initiated the Conference of Buddhists of the 11 Asian Countries and Regions and issued "Address to Buddhists All over the World". In 1964, China invited Buddhist delegates of more than dozen Asian countries to Beijing to attend the commemorative activities for 1300 anniversary of Xuanzang's death and the unveiling ceremony of the Buddha Tooth Pagoda. The "Cultural Revolution" stopped these friendly contacts for a time. Yet, after collapse of the "Gang of Four", it has been resumed and spread from an individual faction to all the factions and scholars. The roving exhibition of the Sculpture of Ven.

Jianzhen in China, as I mentioned above, is the great event in history of Sino-Japanese Buddhist relation. Afterwards, the Chinese Buddhist circles held several religious meetings jointly with principal Japanese Buddhist schools: Jōdo-shū, Sōtō-shū, Nichiren-shū, and Tendai-shū. In 1978, the Bengalese Government and its Buddhist Association sent a delegation to China to meet the remains of “Atiśa” and held a Buddhist meeting with the Chinese Buddhist Association. In 1983, the Chinese Buddhist Delegation attended the International Science Symposium in Commemoration for 1000 anniversary of Atiśa’s birth. In 1982, the Chinese Delegation for seeing Images of the Buddha visited Thailand, attended the ceremony of handing over three images of Buddha and was kindly received by the Buddhist King of Thailand. In the same year, China sent a delegation to the “World Conference of Religious Leaders and Scholars” held by the Cultural Ministry of Sri Lanka. Moreover, China received the friendly visits of the Buddhist scholars from India, Australia, the United States and many other countries time and again. The principal purpose of these contacts is to promote the advancement of maintaining world peace.

The Chinese Buddhist circles are taking an active part in many meetings of international religious organizations. In 1979, the Chinese Buddhist circles with Chinese Christian and Islam organized a joint delegation to attend the Third World Religious Peace Conference (W.R.P.C.) at Princeton in America. Among its present company there were more than 400 delegates from more than 40 countries. The famous Chinese Buddhist Zhao Puchu was elected to be the Vice-Chairman of the W.R.P.C. At this conference the Chinese Delegation and the Japanese Delegation proposed jointly the calling of a united delegation of W.R.P.C. whose task would be to go to the nuclear countries, and persuade them to issue a proclamation of commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In 1983, almost 20 leaders of W.R.P.C. organized a delegation to visit China and were kindly received by the leaders of Chinese Government. Nevertheless, it was a great pity that their request to visit other nuclear countries including the US, the USSR, the UK, and France was not accepted by these

countries. August 23-31, 1984, more than 600 delegates of more than 60 countries attended the Fourth W.R.P.C. in Nairobi, the Republic of Kenya. The Chinese delegate Zhao Puchu was elected to be one of the ten Chairmen of the W.R.P.C. At the conference the Chinese Delegation with the Japanese Delegation repeatedly put the joint suggestion that a delegation of W.R.P.C. leaders visit the nuclear countries.

In 1981, the Chinese Buddhist circles and the Chinese Christian and Islam organized a united Chinese Religious Delegation to attend the Asian Religious Peace Conference in India.

All the friendly activities of the Chinese Buddhists I mentioned above have played a positive role in furthering mutual understanding and friendship between Chinese people and the peoples of the other countries and made a great contribution to maintaining world peace.

Lastly, I would like to say a word on the question: why was the Delegation of W.R.P.C. received kindly in China? It is very clear that both the Chinese people and the Chinese Government are eager for, not only love, world peace. Our country is undertaking peaceful construction on an unprecedented scale in an endeavor to quadruple its 1980 annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century, and to raise the level of material and cultural life of the people correspondingly. As we know, owing to the weak foundations left over from the old China and the twists and turns we went through in past construction, it will still take another thirty to fifty years for us to get close to or catch up with the present level of the developed countries even if we have reached the goal of quadrupling our annual gross output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century. A peaceful international environment is essential to any country engaged in peaceful construction, the more so for China, a developing socialist country with a population of one billion and undertaking all-round peaceful construction.

Since China is eager for peace, why does it still maintain nuclear weapons?

In our hearts, we are unwilling to spend even one cent on nuclear weapons, which can neither be eaten as food nor be worn as clothes. The small limited number of nuclear weapons China has to keep at present is solely aimed at resisting the nuclear blackmail and intimidation by the superpowers, and at helping the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has long, ago undertaken the unilateral commitment never to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to use them against non-nuclear states or nuclear-free zones. If the other nuclear states are ready to discuss the reduction of nuclear weapons, China will participate. The Chinese people resolutely support the statement made by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report on the Work of Government, "We will support any practical proposal for disarmament which is in keeping with the fundamental principle that the two superpowers take the lead in reducing their arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons."

SHANTI SENA TRAINING IN GANDHIGRAM RURAL INSTITUTE

N. Radhakrishnan

Mother Teresa in her message on the eve of the Id celebration of 1984 exhorted, "Let us not forget to love each other in our mad rush for material achievements". How many of us realize that it is precisely this ability that we lack today? In our rush for life we trample all values and very often moral considerations are thrown to wind and little do we realize that in this process we stand denuded and devoid of the essential qualities of 'Children of God,' which we basically are whether we are conscious of it or not. This situation has prompted many to lament and take an alarmist view of life.

This raises another question: should we be prophets of despair and doom? Knowing as we do the ability of man to reconstruct from ruins and march forward unmindful of the hazards awaiting him en route, we can rest assure that the various movements of peace probably now in the form of small streams and rivulets capable of watering only limited areas but which never allows to get lost in the desert of ignorance and apathy will be able to send tributaries of hope and love to different nations of the world and large sections of humanity. It is quite possible that man in his eternal march takes a few retrograde steps but history teaches us that though he tumbles

over, he never forgets to correct his steps at the earliest opportunity and tries to keep pace with the ever-growing desire to see himself and others in varying shades of light. Education is one of the important factors that shape and influence him in this effort. But of late education has moved away from what it was and should be and has gradually degenerated into an academic discipline with limited possibilities as against the unlimited opportunities it used to offer. It used to be a great liberating force. Serious inroads in the very texture of this once noble ideal are also visible now. If this is the case with education in general, the position with regard to the other forms of education cannot be much different.

Peace education, evidently though not in its infancy is yet to become central to development education in India. Despite the several years of hard work by impressive bands of national leaders and Gandhian constructive workers, it still remains essentially the concern of the Gandhian constructive workers and a few voluntary agencies. This is not to deny credit to those who have also made sincere efforts in this direction in different parts of India. What stares at those of us who are concerned about the growing tension around us is the agonizing fact that peace education has made only marginal dent in Gandhi's India and it remains a far cry and yet to assume the characteristics of a national movement aimed at organizing and motivating people of different sorts to meet the unmet part of the Gandhian Revolution. It is true that there are today a greater number of people who realize the imperative need of peace education. And no doubt some efforts are also being made towards this. Academic courses in non-violence and peace science, padayatras, seminars, workshops, work camps, well-meant exhortations - there is no dearth of any of these things in the assorted bag of the present peace education pattern but who is benefited and in what manner? Let us be fair in acknowledging that in the absence of a clear national perspective all these efforts still remain mere academic jugglery and inherently lack the necessary stimulant to make it vibrant, creative, meaningful and self generating - the essential postulates for anything to inspire people and hold them together.

We lack even that basic inspiration which made the Negro Students in Nashville who drew up the following code in the true Gandhian manner:

Don't strike back of course if abused
Don't laugh out
Don't hold conversation with floor workers
Don't leave your seats until your leader has given instruction to do so
Don't block entrance to the stores and the isles
Show yourself courteous friendly at all times
Sit straight and always face the counter
Report all serious incidents to your leader
Refer all information to your leader in a polite manner
Remember love and non-violence
May God bless each of you.

It has been found over the years that the prime reason why the well orchestrated and heavily financed state sponsored project of peace education in India and in several other countries failed to click is that they tend to be stereotyped and are rigid in their frame and there is little scope for the creative involvement of the public. Any program besides attracting people to it should have the inbuilt capacity to sustain the interest generated and motivate and inspire them to higher and noble levels and creative involvement is an essential ingredient in this. It is precisely this which is lacking in the various projects and programs that are in force. Above all this, there is the unnecessary interference of the political bosses and powers-that-be in the projects undertaken even by voluntary agencies and groups. They tinker with most of the programs without realizing the harm they do. They are yet to realize the paramount importance of keeping general good above the self.

The latest developments both at the national and international level suggest that the idea of Mahatma Gandhi to form a nonviolent army (Shanti Sena) to meet the threat of organized violence has grown and reached a wider public. It is gratifying to note that more and more people are realizing the need for organized peaceful efforts to meet the challenges posed by

the raging violence of all sorts and stock-pile of deadly weapons that might wipe out the human race from the surface of the earth in a few minutes in the event of a third world war. Those who care for human lives are convinced that people trained in practicing non-violence in private and public life is the need of the hour.

Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* (18-6-1938): “Some time ago I suggested the formation of a peace brigade whose members would risk their lives in dealing with riots especially communal. The idea was that this brigade should substitute the police and even the military. This reads ambitious. The achievements may prove impossible. Yet, if the Congress is to succeed in its nonviolent struggle, it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations”. He mooted the idea of a Shanti Sena (Peace Corps) at a Pacifist Conference held at Wardha a few months before his assassination. The Shanti Sena of his dream is a Peace Brigade, which with its emphasis on service will arm the nation with inner strength. With a broad based peace plan it would be possible to achieve a nationwide Peace Brigade, The ultimate aim of such a taskforce is to train every member to be a peace soldier. Gandhi had written in *Harijan* (2-5-1946): “A very small part of the preliminary training received by the military is common to the nonviolent army. These are discipline, drill, singing the chorus, flag hoisting, signaling and the like. Even this is not absolutely necessary training for a nonviolent army is an immovable faith in God, willing and perfect obedience to the chief of the nonviolent army and perfect inward and outward co-operation between the units of the army”.

The War Resistors' International:

Vinobaji, Sriman Narayan and Kaka Kalelkar took up the idea after the assassination of Gandhi: The War Resistor's International which held its Conference in Gandhigram in December 1960 decided to organize an International Shanti Sena. A. J. Maste was selected to organize it in the American

Region while Jayaprakash Narayan and Michael Scott were chosen to head the Asian and European units respectively. They also decided to train an International Peace Brigade which could be sent to the areas of conflict. This should be an effective alternative to the soldiers of war. Vinobaji who has been considered as the closest disciple and almost a trite copy of Gandhi found in the idea the potentials of a great instrument that could be effectively harnessed and that would eventually emerge a strong and integrated component of the great revolution for the promotion of which he has given his life. It is natural that the Shanti Sena received priority in his scheme of things. To him goes the credit of having made the concept and ideals of the Shanti Sena a powerful alternative to the soldiers of war.

Birth of Indian Shanti Sena Mandal:

The birth of Indian Shanti Sena Mandal thanks to the efforts of Vinobaji and Jayaprakash Narayan is a milestone in the march and resolve of Indians to foster the Gandhian legacy of a casteless, classless, egalitarian and peace-loving society. The views expressed by Arlo De Tatum, the former General Secretary of the world Peace Brigade, is significant in this regard. He wrote: "From one point of view, the idea of an unarmed body of volunteers, trained and ready to cope With natural catastrophes, poverty, and man-made confusions is an extension of the function of the work-camp movements, as best exemplified by Service Civil International. Certain constructive activities of various bodies like the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Sarvodaya Movement in India and Daniel Dolci's work in Sicily could be given to suggest tile dimensions of the constructive work contemplated by the Brigade. Clearly such humanitarian work when totally free from political bias, is valid activity with universal appeal to persons of goodwill".

The Indian Shanti Sena Mandal aroused keen interest and several thousand Indians responded without any reservation. Besides quickening the process of the general awakening and interest in the Sarvodaya ideals and way of living the members of the mandal provided the much needed back-up support as the

messengers of peace in channeling the general interest generated by Vinobaji during his Padayatras. These Padayatras, unheard of before they were launched in human history held out the olive branches of hope. And today it has several thousand votaries. Even those skeptical critics of this movement in the initial days have now retired from their stand and support this today - a visible triumph of the spirit of Gandhi and the leadership Vinobaji gave to the nation after the assassination of Gandhi.

It started with the idea that the Shanti Sainiks should intervene wherever violence breaks out and offer their own lives to restore peace. The weapon of the Shanti Sena will not be guns or swords but 'spiritual authority'. Every Shanti Sainik was bound by the following pledge.

1. To observe truth, non-violence and non-possessiveness to the utmost of one's ability.
2. Nishkam seva (disinterested service) without desire for results.
3. Avoidance of all party politics and power politics, while endeavouring to win the utmost possible co-operation from every individual, regardless of his party affiliation.
4. Not to recognize distinctions of class or caste and to respect all religions equally to give one's while thought, and as much time as possible, to the Bhoodan Movement.

Shanti Sainik has to strictly adhere to these principles. He will be a servant of people during normal times and will be a peace soldier in an emergency.

The Gandhigram experiment:

The Gandhigram complex of institutions started in 1947 near Madurai under the leadership of Dr. (Mrs.) Soundaram and Dr. G. Ramachandran - two of the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi - took up the Shanti Sena program in a big way. Right from the inception of Gandhigram, the Shanti Sena was kept at the center of the educational and rural reconstruction activities started and non-student youth, men and women, teachers and other workers showed remarkable realization of the role the Shanti Sena play in every day life. Initially by consensus and later by practice every entrant to Gandhigram became a member of the Shanti Sena and would take a pledge.

In conformity with the declared objective of Gandhigram to give importance to women, a woman volunteer would be designated captain of the Shanti Sena. Discussion, Seminars, Work Camps, Padayatras, Special cleaning campaigns in villages involvement in family welfare programs, teaching young children, active participation in organizing adult education centers, organizing village women and involvement in relief work and conflict resolution were the main items of work which the Shanti Sena would undertake under the supervision of a Chief Organizer. Every Saturday this body (the inmates of all institutions) would assemble at a rally to take stock of the previous week's work and also to undertake extensive group constructive activities. The Saturday Rallies were occasions for the community to rededicate itself to the service of the nation and the villages around. It usually is an impressive get together of the community, all dressed white and with a Gandhi cap on. Sri V. M. Chandrasekhar a participant in the Delhi-Peking Peace March gave imaginative leadership to the programs.

Intensive leadership training program:

Opening of a regular department to select and train over a hundred young men and women every year was a significant step the founders of Gandhigram took -in 1953. The idea was to

strengthen and broaden the base of the Shanti Sena by making the Shanti Sena a two-tier program, namely,

- (1) The Ganadhigram Shanti Sena where every inmate of the various institutions would be a member, and
- (2) Shanti Sena Leaders Training program for selected young men women who will constitute a task-force.

The following are the objectives of the program;

- (a) to inculcate in the youths, faith in non-violence and in the supremacy of the moral law
- (b) to introduce in to the student community a sense of collective discipline: love for voluntary social service:
- (c) interest in active out-door life and an understanding of the unity of India and of mankind.
- (d) to keep a well-trained, disciplined 'task force' of nonviolent soldiers to meet emergent situations inside and outside Gandhigram.
- (e) to inculcate faith in the dignity of manual labor by organized shramdan programs.

Dr. G. Ramachandran bestowed great attention to the development of this program and resisted all attempts of the State and Central Governments to replace the Shanti Sena by the NCC/ACC during the Chinese aggression. There is no NCC training program in Gandhigram and its place has been given to the Shanti Sena. The Gandhigram Rural Institute with its accent on the creation of a casteless and peace-loving social order proudly incorporated Shanti Sena training to selected youth as one of its major objectives, for it found that the Gandian revolution would be incomplete without peace education with practical involvement.

Besides exposing all the staff and students of Gandhigram Rural Institute to the ideals of the Shanti Sena and providing opportunities for involvement in common programs and training

in peace-making, the Shanti Sena would concentrate on imparting training to a group of over a hundred young men and women from different faculties of the Institute every year. The training includes the following aspects besides exposure to conflict resolution and field placements:

(a) Intellectual aspect:

Discussions, debates, Seminars and Workshops on

1. Peace Movement in India and in other countries
2. Armament race and its consequence
3. *Jai Jagar*, the one world idea
4. Sarvodaya Movement
5. Lectures aimed at instilling the concept of non-violence in the day-to-day life of youth
6. Inter-collegiate and Inter-University debates, and essay competitions

(b) Practical

1. Sareerashram (manual labor) Programs
2. Marching and Drilling
3. First-Aid
4. Home-Nursing for girls
5. Yogasana
6. Cycling for girls
7. Group games for boys and girls
8. Lessons in group singing
9. Fire-Fighting
10. Traffic Controlling
11. Trekking

(c) Extension activities

1. Organizing Balar Sabha/Youth Clubs/Women's Club in Villages
2. Organizing blood donation Clubs
3. Organizing Peace-Marches
4. Organizing Cultural Program for villagers
5. Village sports
6. Saturday Rallies
7. Organizing Adult Education Centers in Villages

8. Village Reconstruction Camps
9. Socio-economic survey

The aim has always been to integrate peace education with the main academic program taking advantage of the willingness of the students and workers in Gandhigram and the children, student and non-student youth and men and women in the service areas of the institute. It was found to be possible because the Gandhigram Rural Institute a fascinating experiment in development education and rural uplift was ideally suited to harness student power to nation building activities in a creative manner.

The Shanti Sena Program, it should be noted is never aimed at the impossible. It never visualized imparting all skills to people who will become perfect peace loving citizens or soldiers of peace overnight or even in a short span of one or two years. Two or three years of partial or cursory involvement in this program along with the main burden of preparing for Diplomas, Certificates or Degrees would hardly give him all the training. But the impressive aspect of the program has been to provide an opportunity for people to know what it is like to be a peace loving person. Even those students and workers who looked at it from a safe distance at the initial stage were drawn to it later. The joy of working together, singing together, living together, and marching together is something that is to be experienced.

The hand which is to be used for productive work and creative expressions is very often being used to cut the throats of fellowmen. Even a short stay together with people from different walks of life, of community, from different regions and different intellectual and material attainments will forge at least a small amount of emotional integration. Besides bringing people of different temperament together such study camps will help people to come closer to knowing each other and to some extent get over narrow and sectarian outlooks on life. It will definitely broaden the outlook of those who attend the camp. It should be noted that the greatest amount of emotional dedication and even

the willingness to die cannot replace hard work based on genuine study and thinking.

Shanti Sena as a task force:

As a task force it can undertake very meaningful items of work in the villages. Some of the areas the Gandhigram Shanti Sena has been concentrating are:

(a) Organizing blood donors' Club:

Youth can persuade and motivate persons to donate blood so that the hospitals can use it in times of need. As a preliminary step people can be educated that it is not at all dangerous to donate blood. As the second step a list of persons who are willing to donate blood may be prepared showing their respective blood groups and the list sent to the hospitals. The hospital authorities can send for these persons as and when emergency arises.

(b) Medical Check-up:

Periodical medical check-up can be conducted with the help of the medical personnel from the neighboring hospitals in areas which are not covered under any medical scheme.

(c) Tree Planting:

It has been found that the countryside is deprived of the trees by thoughtless men who cut them for various purposes. The youth should keep a vigil over this and a massive tree planting movement can be started. Tree planting should not stop with planting the saplings but they should be taken care of.

(d) Organizing Padayatras and cleaning campaigns:

The students of Universities, Colleges and High Schools form themselves into small groups and undertake padayatras to the villages to educate the villagers on the evil of drinking and untouchability and other social evils. Door to door campaign may be arranged to drive home the destroying aspects of these

evils. Cleaning of the villages during the padayatras and on other important occasions is also undertaken.

(e) Entertainment to the villagers:

Periodical entertainment is arranged with the help of the local persons. The field publicity departments of State and Central Governments may be brought in to show documentary films that have educative value.

For want of encouragement many folk art forms are fast disintegrating. As part of an integrated action program the educated youth should step into get these forms properly documented and to encourage the artistes.

(f) Taking care of national monuments and Properties:

The Temples, Mosques, Churches and other places of worship are national properties in whose protection the youth should involve themselves by undertaking cleaning campaign, contribution of manual labor to keep the premises neat and tidy.

(g) Mobile libraries:

Youth can organize mobile libraries. Simple reading materials including Fiction, Poetry, Essays, Pictures, News Papers, pamphlets on health, Agriculture, Family welfare can be taken out into the village on cycles for distribution in villages. Besides helping the villagers to educate themselves, this will increase their reading habit. Even the used popular magazines can be collected and circulated among the villagers.

(h) Non-Formal Education Centers:

Without much fanfare and external help youth can organize their own non-formal education centers in their villages. For this, they do not need elaborate arrangements or much finance. A churchyard or a temple premises or a mosque or the elementary school building can be used for this purpose. School going children can be persuaded to come and study here. Children from socially and economically backward background can get the benefit of free

tuition here. Besides holding non-formal education classes this can become a community center.

Shanti Sena and conflict resolution:

Training in conflict resolution is probably the most important aspect of the program. The trainees should realize that the Shanti Sena has a big role to play in conflict resolution. Without proper training this is really an uphill task. The Shanti Sena does not have any weapon except love and friendliness. Without caring for rewards, it should serve the community impartially. It should be borne in mind that it is an exercise in the demonstration of the power of love over hatred. The Shanti Sena does not accept any sort of distinction. He must have the courage to speak out, no matter who is at fault.

Conflict resolution - two instances:

The ugly and unfortunate violence in Villupuram near Madras and Mandaikad, near Kanyakumari a few years ago offered an opportunity to the Gandhigram Shantisainiks to test the efficacy of their training in non-violence. While the conflict in Villupuram arose out of some misunderstanding between a section of the caste Hindus and a few Harijans, the violence in Mandaikadu was of more serious proportion because it had all the ingredients of a major religious flare up in which mass insanity was enacted by the members of two religious groups. A team led by Mrs. Minoti Aram and the present writer toured the disturbed areas in the district and helped those who were involved in easing the tension. The team, which included Mr. M. S. Prabakaran, Asst. Chief Organizer of GRI Shanti Sena and 15 student leaders who had undergone the intensive Shanti Sena program found their efforts rewarding and valuable. It provided them an opportunity to put to test the five prerequisites for a soldier of peace:

1. He should conquer anger and hatred.
2. Complete acceptance of the discipline of Shanti Sena.
3. He should put the larger cause above his 'ego'.
4. He should remain like a task force to move into the scene of calamities of all sorts.
5. Community service is his training.

The experience of the team that had gone on peace mission to Villupuram was no less exciting. The memorable aspect of the Villupuram experience was that the team led by Dr. N. Radhakrishnan had 15 women Shantisainiks. They worked in the scene of violence for 11 days and succeeded along with others in persuading the Harijans who had gone away from their village to return to their settlement. This was an achievement. The women Shantisainiks were particularly happy because they could prove that women can be very effective in conflict resolution situations.

Several eminent visitors to Gandhigram including Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan found in the Gandhigram experiment great possibilities. Addressing a rally of the Gandhigram Shanti Sena Nehru said, "Our fight against violence and hatred will have no meaning if we are not ready to involve the youths in educating the masses and youth organizations like the Shanti Sena will have to play a big role. Every student of this country should become a messenger of peace. I know this is not easy." Similar sentiments were expressed by several other national and international leaders who came to Gandhigram over the last 30 years. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan who visited India at a time when in one or two places in the north communal violence was claiming its toll, was visibly moved on seeing the white-clad and Gandhi-capped men and women of the Gandhigram Shanti Sena and exclaimed, "it is impossible to believe that in this country such things could happen. My eyes water when I see you. You are the real children of god." Dr. Glenn Paige, Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawaii who has been waging a crusade in the last so many years for the evolution and

consequent acceptance of a nonviolent political science, flew to India twice in the last three years to look at the Shanti Sena. He found great potential in the Shanti Sena. He wrote in an article:

“In the interim before establishment of international, national, and local nonviolent institutions, and as an eventual source skilled workers for them, there should be established in every college and university in the world a Nonviolent Service Brigade. Where training for military service is conducted by colleges and universities, such as in the United States, an alternative opportunity to serve in the Nonviolent Service Brigade should be provided with equal benefits. Eventually nonviolent training should supplant violent training in institutions of higher education. Where military training is not customary in universities, training for nonviolent public service should be instituted.

A prototype of such an academic institution already exists with more than twenty years of experience in the Shanti Sena (Peace Brigade) of Gandhigram Rural University. The purpose of the Shanti Sena is to prepare students, faculty and administrators for constructive community service and for nonviolent conflict resolution work in times of crisis. All members of the university are members of the Shanti Sena. The Captain is always a woman in respect of Gandhi’s belief that women are generally more nonviolent than men.

There are daily prayers and hymns from the Hindu, Muslim, Christian and Buddhist traditions which are intended to promote religious tolerance. Songs of all nations dignifying manual labor and the solidarity of mankind are sung...

The Shanti Sena combines both dedicated effort to end structural violence plus readiness to offer lives in non-violence to end behavioral violence. Every university student, faculty member, and administrator in the world has something to learn from these Indian friends even though there are only about 800 of them. They offer hope to all the world that the creation of nonviolent institutions is not beyond human capabilities. And they would be the first to recognize, despite their profound respect for him, that one need not be a ‘Gandhigram’ to become

nonviolent. Every human being has a nonviolent potential. The task of the university should be to evoke it and to prepare it for constructive, lifelong life-enriching community service.”

The Gandhigram Rural Institute is 26 years old now and has trained more than four thousand students. Efforts to streamline the program and make it more purposeful and broadbased were taken and as a result of this, Dr. Aram, with his rich experience in Nagaland as a peacemaker, has succeeded in adding a new dimension to the Shanti Sena with his emphasis to extend the programs to the schools, colleges and villages by involving all fellow seekers of peace in the program.

School Shanti Sena:

Units of peace brigades were formed in the schools in the neighborhood with the help of the workers of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Madurai. The purpose of this is to initiate children into the marvels of peaceful existence and kindle a desire in the young minds to know more so that they will evince some interest in the anatomy of peace when they grow up. Discussion of inspiring incidents from great lives, group singing, reading books on great men, visits to institutions of importance, holding of competitions of creative abilities, observance of national and international days of importance - this is all what is being done through the school Shanti Sena at the moment. Teachers also evince interest and the idea seems to be catching up.

College Shanti Sena:

Several Vice-Chancellors and senior academicians from different parts of India have commended the activities of the Gandhigram Shanti Sena. Dr. Shantappa, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, expressed in favor of starting diploma courses and regular training programs in Shanti Sena. Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, former Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University strongly advocated making peace education and Shanti Sena

training to the students of universities an integral part of university education. A state level five-day camp for selected university and college students of Tamilnadu was held in Gandhigram in 1983 as a reconnoiter and the interest shown by the youths who attended from twenty seven colleges, universities and service organizations was encouraging.

Village Peace Brigades:

The situation in many Indian villages is far from satisfactory. At any time feuds will start and assume menacing proportions. The youth can act as peace brigade during such occasions. Realizing the need of local involvement in any such program, the Shanti Sena has made it as one of the major programs to work in the villages through the educated and uneducated, employed and unemployed young men and women in the villages. Many unemployed young men owing to the lack of encouragement and facilities idle away their time. It has been found that if some encouragement is given, these young men can be put to very useful work and would become effective messengers of peace. It is to meet this situation that village peace brigades are formed in the neighboring villages. These young men form a general council of all those who are desirous of working for their village irrespective of caste, religion, and social and political considerations. A working committee of five or six, with a secretary and chairman will head this team. The following are a few of the items of work they concentrate on:

- a) Organizing, village sports
- b) Bringing matters of importance to the local administrative authorities
- c) Keep the village clean by undertaking periodical cleaning campaigns and to serve as a volunteer force in times of crisis
- d) To enlist participation and active involvement of services agencies, both governmental and non-governmental, to undertake economic program

The village peace brigades have been found to be very useful in three ways:

- 1) They provide opportunities for the youth to develop leadership qualities.
- 2) Active involvement in productive work will keep them away from narrow and sectarian feelings.
- 3) It invariably fosters inter-religious and inter-community feeling among the young men and women of the village.

It cannot be denied that the public shows now reasonably good interest in the Shanti Sena and the Shanti Sena concept is growing rapidly. More and more persons and institutions now realize the importance of going in for movements like Shanti Sena, which they hope will provide an alternative force to combat the forces of violence. This was evident from what happened on the Martyr's Day of 1984 in the historic temple city of Madurai where under the leadership of Dr. M. Aram a huge peace procession was taken out to mark the weeklong programs for peace held earlier in different parts of Madurai city. Over ten thousand people from different walks of life participated in it. It was yet another instance of what a University can do to promote understanding among the various sections of people and how Gandhian constructive workers, student and non-student youths. Women's organizations and various service organizations can be brought together in a united front for the cause of peace.

THE LEADERS, THE LOTUS AND THE SHADOW OF THE DOVE: THE CASE OF THAI SOCIETY

Chaiwat Satha-Anand

According to the unbroken age-old tradition in Buddhist countries, to be a Buddhist means, among other things, to take ‘The Triple-Gem’ as one’s refuges and undertake to observe the Five Precepts (*Pañcā-silā*). These precepts are “the minimum moral obligations of a lay Buddhist.”¹ The first of these five precepts is: “I undertake the precept to abstain from the taking of life.”² Observing this precept means that a Buddhist would abstain from destroying, causing to be destroyed, or sanctioning the destruction of any living being. It should follow that a Buddhist society such as Thailand would have regarded “peace” very highly had the first precept been strictly observed.

This paper is an attempt to examine the position of “peace” in Thai society by utilizing Thailand’s formal leaders as but a point of departure. If a leader can lead,³ then he or she should more or less reflect what his or her society is. In

¹ Rahula, 1962: 80.

² Saddhatissa, 1970: 87.

³ Paige, 1982: 1.

this paper, three Thai leaders will be selected as examples. They are Gen. Arthit Kamlang-ek, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief/Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army; Gen. Prem Tinasulanond, the Prime Minister of Thailand and Minister of Defense; and Somdej Phra Ariyawongsakatayan, the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. These leaders are chosen from a formal-positional perspective. These leaders cover three basic dimensions of Thai society, military-security, government-politics, and religion. The military has to be included because they have always been considered an integral element in Thai society. Recently, Gen. Arthit himself used the Army television stations to broadcast his emotionally charged speech concerning his strong dissension against the Thai government's devaluation of the Thai currency.⁴ Besides, judging from modern Thai political history, to examine Thai society without taking the Thai military into serious consideration seems to be a grave mistake. The leaders' most recent public speeches (during 1982-1984) will be used in order to locate the position of "peace" in their thinking.⁵ It is important to point out that whether these leaders believe in what they spoke or not is besides the point. What is at issue is the message they wish to convey to their followers.

If the followers are to be led, then analyzing these messages may shed light on where they are led to. These data are merely indicators of the ways they portray their public images by leading the public to think of the ideas they regard as most

⁴ The way he spoke to the public is quite indicative of his self-understanding. He said: "While still abroad, I learned from the newspaper that the Government announced the devaluation of the baht. I felt sorry and hurt that my advice was not heeded, making me think about resigning from the service". *Bangkok Post* November 8, 1984:1.

⁵ The quantity of each leader's public speech differs. Gen. Prem is quite well known for his mild-manner, and preference for silence, whereas Gen. Arthit is much more vocal. In addition, even data such as these public speeches are quite difficult to obtain. It is quite an experience to have to go all the way to Gen. Arthit himself to obtain a copy of his published speeches while Gen. Prem's speech have to be authorized by one of his deputy political secretaries before public accessibility.

significant. In this sense, public speech serves as a line of communication between the leaders and the led.

Finally, Buddhism itself will be questioned concerning its relationship with the concept of peace in the Thai social world.

From the position of “peace” in these leaders’ thoughts it is possible to raise question concerning Buddhism and Peace. If the concept of peace is relatively absent in a Buddhist society, there must be reasons. Historical examples will be used to crystallize the analysis.

The Concept of Peace and Contemporary Thai Leaders

The Military and Peace

From an almost 400 pages of speeches delivered in different occasions, the General discusses a wide varieties of subjects from school system, Buddhist temple as socializing agents, children today-adult tomorrow, business, to human development and pollution problems. From all this, there are only two places where the word “peace” appear in the text.⁶ Interestingly enough, both appear in one of his speeches discussing national security. Gen. Arthit points out that the military has succeeded in fighting the communists by utilizing political means as the primary approach while military measures become secondary. He concludes, “In fighting to conquer the communists, it can be seen that we have used peaceful means to create better understanding so that they (the jungle fighters) will come out to help us.”⁷ In any event, these statements should not lead to the conclusion that the Thai military is a peace-oriented organization that prefers nonviolent actions to military methods. Peaceful means are employed only because they are most appropriate under certain circumstances. Military measures will be immediately used whenever a situation requires.⁸

⁶ Kamlang-ek, 1984: 200, 210.

⁷ Kamlang-ek, 1984: 210.

⁸ Kamlang-ek, 1984: 201.

Taken as a whole, Gen. Arthit's basic concepts are security and discipline. He points out in an interview on "Educational Trends in the School System during the 6th and 7th National Education Plans" on June 8, 1984 that, "Security does not only mean military matter, but it means an appropriate proportion of everything. Therefore, when speaking of security, we should include economic, political, international and military all four types of security at the same time."⁹ But then when speaking on "military education in state universities", he points out straightforwardly that, "Everyone should favor military matters because without them, the country is no more."¹⁰

Besides "security", "discipline" is another concept that is quite prevalent in his speeches. He indicates that consciousness for social responsibility can only be possible after discipline has been created.¹¹ A nation-state can only develop if its citizens possess virtue and discipline.¹² Most importantly, perhaps, is when he links the two concepts together. As he puts it tersely, "National security depends on understanding and discipline.... Discipline enables the people to live with order and capable of following the rulers' commands effectively."¹³

These examples are brought up to suggest that it is normal for a military leader to emphasize the notions of security and discipline. It is also logical that the notion of "peace" seldom appears in his public speeches. To be a soldier means, among other things, to live a life that may have to take away others' lives. Such a life contradicts the notion of "right livelihood" in Buddhism. A Buddhist is supposed to abstain from making his/her living through a profession that brings harm to others, such as trading in arms and lethal weapons, intoxicating drinks, killing animals and should live by a profession which is honorable, blameless and

⁹ Kamlang-ek, 1984: 80.

¹⁰ Kamlang-ek, 1984:88.

¹¹ Kamlang-ek, 1984:119.

¹² Kamlang-ek, 1984:144.

¹³ Kamlang-ek, 1984:158.

innocent of harm to others.¹⁴ In Gen. Arthit's case, "peace" seems to be relatively absent from his thought process.

The Prime Minister and Peace¹⁵

From the three speeches delivered on New Year's Day (1983); September 14, 1984 when he went to the United States for a special medical check up and on September 26, 1984 when he returned from the said trip, the one problem that seems to concern Prime Minister Prem the most is poverty. The concepts that seem to be central to his thought process are happiness or well-being and tranquility. The Prime Minister underscores the significance of economic factors that would reduce the level of poverty in this country. In this sense, it is possible to suggest that Gen. Prem is working towards "positive peace" (i.e., towards an absence of structural violence such as poverty.)¹⁶ At the same time, the notion of "tranquility" somehow connotes an idea of a shady-cool refuge where one can safely reside.

Another characteristic that stands out saliently in Gen. Prem's public speeches is the bondage between himself and his followers. He said, "We care for one another, all kinfolds must have cared for me. I do care for all of you too." Then towards the end of one of his speeches, he said, "I want to emphasize that I will not forget the love we had among all of us relatives. I will not forget the care you had given me." It should be noted that Gen. Prem is called "Pa" among the Thais. As suggested earlier, Gen. Prem is a soft-spoken, mild-manner and normally quiet gentleman. Therefore, it seems that the few words he says to the followers mean a great deal. Although a former military man himself, he has shown a remarkable capacity in relating to the Thais in a seemingly non-aggressive way.

¹⁴ Rahula, 1962: 47.

¹⁵ An official at the Prime Minister Office informed me that to obtain the Prime Minister's speeches one also needs authorization. In addition, there are very few public speeches available.

¹⁶ Galtung, 1969: 183.

Nevertheless, the word “peace” itself did not appear in his speeches at all. The fact that he emphasizes “positive peace” does not mean that nonviolent means will be used. Besides, it is also difficult to detect a direct Buddhist influence in his speech. This difficulty may basically be due to insufficient data, among other things. Nevertheless, it can still be argued that the existence of peace as a unity between both positive and negative qualities is still shadowy in his overall thought process.

The Supreme Patriarch and the Concept of Peace

Based upon one collection of his writings (1982) and two small booklets (1982 and 1984), it is safe to suggest that his speeches are geared to educate the Thai Buddhists. At times, he went into detail to explain Buddhist rituals.¹⁷ But the theme that occurs repeatedly from the available materials is to practice Buddhism. The Five Precepts have consistently been emphasized. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that he underscores what lies within the minds of men.¹⁸

While acknowledging the discrepancy between Buddhist teachings and what the Thai Buddhists practice, he attributes this problem to causes within the minds of the Buddhists. He speaks, “One can easily see that killing is prohibited in Buddhism, yet we kill all over the country. ... Buddhism is not something we construct. It is a teaching. Teaching needs people to practice it otherwise it will become lifeless.”¹⁹

As a Buddhist monk preaching Buddhism to his followers, it is natural that he occasionally conveys the idea of the first precept to the public. Yet the concept of “peace” in the Supreme Patriarch’s thought process is far from being a social one. He does speak about social ills but their solutions are basically personal. While it is quite true that Buddhism is interested in the happiness of men, which will not be possible without leading a pure life based on moral and

¹⁷ 1982b: 1-13.

¹⁸ 1984: 7.

¹⁹ 1984: 5-6.

spiritual principles, the Buddha did not take life out of the context of its social and economic background.²⁰

At this point, it seems legitimate to ask whether it is possible for a Buddhist leader in Thailand to publicly talk about “peace” from a social perspective. As a religion of nonviolence, it is only logical that a Buddhist leader can be expected to contribute to the cause of peace more than the General or the Prime Minister. To solve this enigma is to look back into the recent past. There was a fascinating case which certainly points to the shadowy existence of peace in “Buddhist” Thailand.

A Buddhist Monk with a Message of Peace

In the year 1915 during World War I, Thailand was under absolute monarchy with the British-trained Rama VI (1910-1925) as the King of Siam. A high-ranking monk by the name of Phra Thep Moli Sirichantoe published a book for the cremation of the wife of one of Thailand many princes. One thousand copies of that book had been distributed. The thesis of that small but significant book was: “Good knowledge leads to progress while had knowledge leads to corruption.”²¹

The above thesis sounds religious enough not to render any problem to its author. But then the unusual monk elaborated his thesis. He pointed out that an example of evil knowledge is military study. Knowledge about shooting is also included because it lacks compassion to other human beings. Knowledge how to make guns, swords, and all kinds of weapons such as man-of-war, aircrafts, submarines, explosions and torpedoes is evil knowledge which will

²⁰ Rahula, 1962: 81.

²¹ Phra Thep Moli Sirichantoe 1915: 6. This is an extremely rare document. I wish to express my gratitude to a colleague of mine, Chalongsuntharavanich, Department of History, Faculty, of Arts, Chulalongkorn University for introducing me to this invaluable material. It should be noted also that monks in Thailand can have rank depending on their qualifications. These ranks are bestowed upon them by the State (e.g., Phra Thep).

certainly lead to ruin and corruption.²² The author also cited a then contemporary example of World War I. “Each side did not want to solve the cause of the conflict. Instead, they intend on exercising their power, which finally leads to violent war between each other. War then spreads all over the world. People die because of weapons of destruction or starvation or other diseases as a result of dirt and pollution. Not only soldiers die, but old people, women and children who flee for safety also die because of hunger. The number of people died in this war is impossible to count.”²³

The monk then went on to explain to his followers that such was the atrocity of evil knowledge. People took pride in their knowledge of producing killing weapons so they went to battle without mercy. In the eyes of one another, they become just “meat” and “fish” (not human being).²⁴ The more human beings know about destructive technology, the more harm will befall humanity.

One would normally think that such insightful teaching was in accordance with the spirit of Buddhism itself. Therefore, in a Buddhist society with a Buddhist ruler, Phra Thep Moli should be duly rewarded. But what occurred to him afterwards reveals a great deal about the kind of “Buddhist society” examined here.

Phra Thep Moli (later on he was promoted to become Phra Ubali Khunupamacharaya, abbot of Baromnivas Temple, Bangkok) briefly discussed this incident in his *Autobiography*²⁵ published in 1947. He wrote,

That book was against the country’s public policy because it was not in accordance with the royal wish. Therefore, when His

²² 1915: 18.

²³ 1915: 20.

²⁴ 1915: 21.

²⁵ It is also interesting to note that this book, which was published in 1947 and had been in Thammasat University library for some time, has been left undiscovered. From the library card, I seem to be the only one who borrowed this book. It also points to the possibility of future research on the nonviolent or peaceful tradition in Thai society.

Majesty the King (Rama VI) became aware of this book, he gave order to deprive me of my rank and then I was under house arrest (or, rather temple arrest) at Wat Bovornnives Wiharn.²⁶

Then on January 4, 1916, King Rama VI granted the monk his amnesty.

A proper question at this point could be: Why is it that when a revered Buddhist monk preached about peace in accordance with the Buddha perennial message, he was persecuted by the power of a “Buddhist” king? To meaningfully deal with this question, it is important to briefly discuss King Rama VI’s idea concerning violence and nonviolence.

Rama VI and his Inclination towards Peace?

Born in 1880, Rama VI was the 29th son of the great Rama V. When he was 13, he went abroad to enroll at the naval college, Great Britain. In 1894 he became the Crown Prince of Thailand. Then he underwent a military training at Sandhurst and furthered his study by reading history at Christchurch College, Oxford. There, he chose to write a dissertation on the subject: “The War of Polish Succession”. Trevor Ling points out that, “This Buddhist prince, Vajiravudh (Rama VI) did not drift into an army career: he chose it, and he enjoyed the life.” (Ling 1979: 138) As soon as he came down from Oxford, he went to the school of Musketry at Hythe and obtained a special certificate for marksmanship. He became the King of Siam in 1910. When the war broke out in 1914, Thailand was not in any military danger. Nevertheless, as an Anglophile, the King showed strong support for England and France by his extensive journalistic writings and with gifts of money to his old regiment, the Durham Light Infantry. In July 1917, Thailand entered the war and a small volunteer expeditionary force, about 1,200 strong, was sent to Europe. The troop arrived too late to take actual part in the actual fighting, but they were able to join in the victory parades in Paris and London, and

²⁶ 1947: 33.

then in Bangkok.²⁷ The King himself was also a dramatist, a poet and a journalist. There was an abortive military uprising against the monarchical regime in 1911. But his reign continued until he passed away in 1925.

Given Prof. Ling's analysis of King Rama VI, his ambiguity to war and peace still remains. For example, the 1911 incident was an abortive attempt by a group of junior military officers to change the ancient Thai monarchical regime into either "limited monarchy" or "republic".²⁸ The committee investigating the incident concluded that the 1911 group also planned to harm the King and the people.²⁹ Such "crime" in an absolute monarchical state could only face capital punishment.³⁰ From among the 91 military and civilian officers accused in this case, three were sentenced to death.

Two days after he was informed of this verdict, Rama VI gave the following comment: "But one of their basic crimes is to harm me personally. However I do not hold personal grudges against them. Therefore, their punishment should be mercifully reduced which is within the domain of the royal power of a King."³¹ As a result, the three officers received life sentences. It should be noted that only 25 out of the 91 accused were really imprisoned. These prisoners were later on granted amnesty by King Rama VI. Taken together, they were imprisoned for 12 years 6 months and 6 days.³² This relatively mild punishment is quite unusual or even unthinkable in any Southeast Asian "absolutist state".

Besides this incident, some of his writings strongly connote the idea of peace and nonviolence. He has written some 100 pieces on a wide variety of issues using quite a few pseudonyms. Among these materials, his collection of proverbs titled "Assawabhasit" (Proverbs of the Horse) is of particular

²⁷ Ling, 1979: 138.

²⁸ Noomnond, 1979: 88-90.

²⁹ Noomnond, 1979:90.

³⁰ Noomnond, 1979:111-2.

³¹ Noomnond, 1979:120.

³² Noomnond, 1979:129.

interest to those concerned with “peace”. The followings are remarkable proverbs written and/or compiled by King Rama VI himself.

“Those who came to power through military force will be destroyed by military force.”

“A tree planted with force, fertilized with force and nurtured with force, fruits of this tree cannot be otherwise but violence.”

“To take the life of an evil man is as sinful as to kill a good man.”

“Peace can be easily maintained between and by equally civilized nations”

“If all the nations of the world agree to sign a contract abolishing all violence including wars, all of us human beings will be a lot happier.”³³

The least one can say about the author of these proverbs is that he thinks of peace quite seriously. However, his consideration does not seem to be influenced by Buddhism. Rather, one senses a strong Western influence, which probably resulted from his long years of training in Europe.

A question arises: why is it that an intellectual king who wrote seriously about peace punished a monk who delivered a similar message? Why was he not consistent in his thinking about peace and allowing other to promote the very idea he seemed to favor? This question indicates that it is important to probe deeper into the complex relationship between the Buddhist leader, and the idea of peace in Buddhism.

Neither the Dove nor the Peaceful Lotus

King Rama VI punished Phra Thep Moli for preaching peace not because he was against the idea of peace as evident from his own writings. Yet, the monk had to be punished because to preach something against the state policy is a challenge to the power of that state. In an absolute monarchical state, government policy was the King’s wish.

³³ Assawabhahu, 1951.

Again, how a given policy comes into being is beside the point. State policy or the King's degree was the direction the public should follow. Any challenge cannot be tolerated. In leading the followers, leaders often limit their choices. To criticize the direction taken is to invite the public to think about alternatives. With alternatives, the followers may cease to be loyal followers. As a result, the leadership of a leader could be undermined.

King Rama VI once wrote that to be a Thai means, among other things, to be loyal to the King of Siam. A true Thai must not prefer freedom of oneself to loyalty to the King.³⁴ In this sense, loyalty to the King without reservation is an equivalent to national loyalty. He also wrote that to destroy a nation is the utmost sin which would inhibit man's possibility to go to heaven and even to attain Nirvana.³⁵

Consequently, the concept of the state be it manifested in the form of an absolute monarch or an abstract nation, seems to be much more significant than peace. Here, a concrete example should be instructive.

At the coronation of King Rama VI in 1910, the Buddhist Patriarch delivered an interesting sermon. Among other things, he said, "People who live in different countries in close neighborhood must inevitably have disputes and quarrels, either on account of territory, or of the rights of the subjects thereof, or of commercial rivalry and so forth ... Such being the case, each nation finds it necessary to organize some of its own citizens into a class whose duty it is to fight against its enemies."³⁶ This monk also pointed out that since wars usually occur without warning, "Wars must be prepared for even in time of peace, otherwise one would not be in time, and one would be in a disadvantageous position towards one's foe".³⁷ The Patriarch also lamented the fact that the citizens had "become

³⁴ Rama VI, 1963:141.

³⁵ Rama VI, 1963:134.

³⁶ Ling, 1979:136.

³⁷ Ling, 1979:137.

totally inexperienced in warfare, and even the military were none too proficient.”³⁸ It is fascinating to note that the prepare to the printed edition of this sermon urges the reader to remember that it is “an erroneous idea to suppose that the Buddha condemned all wars and people whose business it was to wage war.”³⁹

The lengthy point made by the Patriarch in 1910 seems to be incomprehensible if viewed from canonical Buddhism. However, if the relationship between Buddhism and the state in Thailand has been construed, these forbidden statements will be understood. Throughout Thai history, Buddhism as personified in the form of the Saṅgha has not been separated from the state. The Saṅgha sought to secure the adherence of political rulers (such as the king or a government) to Buddhist values. For this would guarantee their virtual monopoly as “spiritual leaders and religious professionals of the state.” On the other hand, political leaders needed to secure the cooperation of the Saṅgha. The state needs to be morally legitimized while the people need to be morally controlled. Such analysis leads Somboon Suksamran to conclude that, “It is very likely that the interests of the political rulers and the Saṅgha coincided - that an ideology which needed supportive political power met a political ruler looking for a legitimating ideology. What developed was a peculiar type of state based on the reciprocal relationships between the political rulers and Saṅgha”.⁴⁰ To sustain such relationship, the state has never allowed the monks to govern themselves. Instead, the monks have been incorporated into the structure of the state. One of the results of this peculiar relationship which has been going on for centuries is that Buddhism has been deprived of the teachings that would not coincide with state policies. If one dares to be true to Buddhism and preach what he thinks is right, then he cannot be left unpunished. Consequently, Buddhist teachings in Thai society have generally been contained at the individual level. Significant social messages of Buddhism

³⁸ Ling, 1979:137.

³⁹ Ling, 1979:137.

⁴⁰ Suksamran, 1982:158.

such as the issue of peace and war lose their visibility in the eyes of the Thai Buddhists.

This situation is also true concerning issues other than peace and war. One prominent Buddhist medical doctor in Thailand laments, “The temples have been almost cut off from useful social functions. Left with largely ceremonial roles, they have shifted more towards superstitious practices. The monks and the people are thus more stupefied both in religious principles and in social mechanisms.”⁴¹ This observation is quite common among serious scholars in search of new social meanings from Buddhism.

Messages concerning merit and sin at the individual level form themselves into a wall whereby a Buddhist can lean against while protecting him from venturing inside to find the hidden social messages. In a society such as this where Buddhism is deformed, peace becomes irrelevant.

Conclusion: The Lotus as Inspiration

It has been shown that the concept of “peace” at the social level seems to be left out from the Thai leaders’ discourses. Although such absence among military and political leaders can be understood quite directly, the absence of social peace from religious leader’s discourse requires further explanation. From a historical example, it can be seen that a prominent religious figure who preached the evil of war and the beauty of peace had been punished by a certain Buddhist king. But the king himself was an intellectual who wrote about the evil of war. The relationship between the Saṅgha and the state had been examined to explain his action against the courageous monk. It has been argued that the state needs the Saṅgha for legitimacy while the latter needs the former for security. As a result, Buddhism has been co-opted to grow within the social territory permitted by the state. Con-

⁴¹ Wasi, 1984:60.

sequently, social messages from the Buddha's teaching have been relatively excluded from public discourses.

The question at this point is: How can significant social messages namely, the issue of peace and development be revived? How can the notion that "according to Buddhism there is nothing that can be called 'just war'" be reintroduced and be discussed in the social life among Buddhists? More importantly, perhaps, is the question whether this reintroduction of social issues is possible at all given the relationship between the Saṅgha and the state outlined above?

To deal with these difficult questions, perhaps one of the most promising ways is to go back to the source of Buddhism. The life of the Buddha himself is quite instructive. Why is it that when he had to choose to become either the world conqueror or the world renouncer, he chose the latter? Perhaps if he had chosen to be the world conqueror, he would have to give up Nirvana. Is it possible to assume that to be a world conqueror would have inhibited him from attaining enlightenment?

If the answer to the above question is positive, then is it possible to conclude that Buddhism by its very nature contradicts the nature of the state? The existence of the state itself, be it an aspect of utilitarian consensus (Gurr) or value consensus (Johnson) or organized coercion (Lenin), somehow curtails the process of realizing full human potentiality. As a result, it is almost impossible for a given state to be founded upon the basis of canonical Buddhism. Consequently, the messages of peace and nonviolence that are imbued within Buddhism will be buried and forgotten behind the shadow of the state.

One possibility to eschew this dilemma is that one of the two social entities under consideration should be transformed. Whether Buddhism or the state is to be transformed depends upon each person's *TELOS*. For those who aspire for peace, it is only logical that Buddhism should be left untouched. Therefore, the political state should be altered. The state contradicts Buddhism and its message of human emancipation and peace

primarily because its conception, evolution and preservation are deeply rooted in the paradigm of violence.

In this paradigm, violence is generally accepted as normality. Therefore, to nonviolently change the state, protagonists of peace have first to try to create a condition whereby the normality of violence become questionable. Once the paradigm of violence is demythologized, then there will be a possibility for a peaceful state. It may be futile to conceptualize a state which is based upon Buddhism in its entirety. But it may be possible for a state inspired by the peaceful spirit of Buddhism to emerge as an alternative for a violence-accepted world.

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BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE

Gedong Bagoes Oka

The history of Buddhism, how it came into the world, is only too well-known to be related here.

Being a Hindu I have always looked upon Buddhism as part of my own faith and therefore do I feel perfectly comfortable in any kind of Buddhist worship. For that matter in Bali, which is the only Hindu island in Indonesia, it is hard to draw a clear line between the Hindu and Buddhist faith in practice.

Buddhism is said to have come to my country even prior to the Hindu faith. Between the sixth and eighth century Buddhism enjoyed its golden age in Indonesia which produced one of the world's wonders, i.e., the Borobudur. It makes one wonder why such a magnificent work of art is not matched by a larger following of Buddhism in the succeeding centuries in Indonesia.

That Buddhism indeed left a deep imprint on the Indonesian mind and thought could be evidenced by the artistic creation of Mpu Tantular, an Indonesian Buddhist poet living at the turn of the 14th century. Not being content with the teaching of Buddha as brought to Indonesia by its erstwhile missionaries from India he recreated the moving story of Prince

Sutasoma, an incarnation of the Buddha in the literary language of those days called Kawi. The noble thought of this poem for many centuries was upheld as the ideal of life and even to this day this great poem is still being recited in that language in Bali to enhance certain ceremonies and celebrations. The traditional group of painters of Kamasan, a tiny village in South Bali, still depicts episodes of this poem in their work, which can be seen decorating many houses of the Balinese nobility.

No greater tribute could be paid to the Buddha than by the framers of our national coat of arms, which has for its inscription the first half of a great line taken from Sutasonia:

“Siwa Buddha Bhinneka Tunggal Ika tan hana Dharma mangrwa” meaning Shivaism Buddhism although differing in expression is yet One or in modern language “Unity through Diversity”. It is, as if it were cut out for Indonesia, which consists of thousands of islands and numerous ethnic communities, each with its own creed and custom.

During the Dutch colonial period Buddhism underwent a well-nigh complete eclipse and only in the first half of the 20th century did one or two individuals - and they were Dutch people at that - start a Theosophical Society in the capital of the then Dutch East Indies, which society soon drew Buddhist inclined people as well. However, the majority of the latter were Chinese. It is interesting to notice how later the Chinese goddess of wealth, Guanyin, or Kannon in Japan, came to be identified with Buddha in the guise of Avalokiteśvara.

After the proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia it became incumbent upon every citizen to adhere to an officially recognized religion due to the first article of the country's principle. As a result a kind of revival was induced among the Buddhists in Indonesia. At present to my knowledge only one vihāra of note exists, i.e., near Semarang in Central Java and a minor one in Bandung and still another in North Bali is consolidating itself.

Thus, in Indonesia the awe-inspiring Borobudur, now the chief item in promotion of tourism, is as yet to be matched by the size or number of Buddha's followers.

That notwithstanding Buddha has had no lack of admirers or devotees among Hindus both in the past as well as in the present. Indeed Buddha's influence has extended and is extending still to the West and the United States. Sir Edwin Arnold secured himself world renown with his *Light of Asia* as did Hermann Hesse with his *Siddhārtha*. We know also that the writer Aldous Huxley was an avowed Buddhist.

Among modern Hindus of note and worth was Swami Vivekananda, the trailblazer of Vedanta in the United States. Let us listen to what that mighty intellect had to say on the matter. The following quotation has been taken from a little booklet "Teaching of Swami Vivekananda" as edited by Swami Gambhirananda, page 23:

1. |ākyamuni came not to destroy, but he was the fulfillment, the logical conclusion, the logical development of the religion of the Hindus.
2. I would like to see moral men like Gautama Buddha, who did not believe in a personal God or personal soul, never asked about them, but was a perfect agnostic, and yet was ready to lay down his life for anyone, and worked all his life for the good of all, and thought only for the good of all ... He did not go to the forest to meditate for his own salvation; he felt that the world was burning, and that he must find a way out. "Why is there so much misery in the world?" was the one question that dominated his whole life.
3. Buddha was a great Vedāntist (for Buddhism was really an offshoot of Vedānta), and |aṁkara is often called a "hidden Buddhist" ... Buddha never bowed down to anything, neither Veda, nor caste nor priests, nor custom. He fearlessly reasoned so far as reason could take him. Such a fearless search for Truth and such love for every living thing the world has never seen.

Or let us take another modern Indian closer in time to us, i.e. Jawaharlal Nehru, the avowed socialist and agnostic. He devoted three whole chapters to Buddha and his teaching in the famous and profound book "The Discovery of India". Very succinctly he writes:

“It (Buddhism) was an ideal of righteousness and self-discipline.” And again on another page (121):

As to what nirvana is, people differ, for it is impossible to describe a transcendental state in our inadequate language and in terms of the concepts of our limited minds. Some say it is just extinction, a blowing out. And yet Buddha is reported to have denied this and indicated that it was an intense kind of activity. It was the extinction of false desire and not just annihilation, but it can not be described by us except in negative terms.

Buddha’s way was the Middle Path. Indeed how deeply in need we are of practitioners of the Middle Path!

Just a look around will bring home to us that extremes are in the ascendancy; extreme poverty versus extreme affluence; crass materialism as against complete negation of life; dark ignorance as against hyper-sophistication while in nature we hear of extreme and long-lasting droughts beside all-sweeping floods in certain parts of the world.

Buddha demanded that his disciples should concern themselves only with things that are related to all known things and should limit themselves to what man can perceive and those things about which we can have definite knowledge.

Well, this is the language of science and therefore it can be easily seen that in the future more and more sensible and educated people will turn to the teaching of Buddha.

Stretching Buddha’s Leadership for Peace to our own time naturally Mahatma Gandhi’s leadership comes to mind. That Buddha inspired Gandhi in no small measure is clear from his own uttering which I will quote:

You who do well to own the Buddha as your teacher will do well to explore the limitless possibilities of nonviolence or Ahi-sā. It is infinitely greater than the gems and the diamonds people value so much. It can become, if you can make wise use of it, your own saving and the saving of mankind. Nonviolence is an intensely active force when properly understood and used. A violent man’s activity is most visible while it lasts. But it is always transitory ... as transitory as that of Jhengis’ slaughter. But the effects of the Buddha’s nonviolent action persist and are likely to grow with age. And the more it is practiced, the more effective and

inexhaustible it becomes, and ultimately the whole world stands agape and exclaims: "a miracle has happened." Asia has a message for the whole world, if it will only live up to it. There is the imprint of Buddhistic influence on the whole of Asia, which includes India, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and the Malay states. For Asia to be not for Asia but for the whole world it has to re-learn the message of the Buddha and deliver it to the whole world.

It is only fitting in a seminar like this one to draw your attention to this great teacher and reformer of the 20th century since his whole life is a manifestation of the same principle as manifested by the Buddha's, which is Ahi-sa pure and unadulterated.

For more than thirty years now - off and on - I have been reading Gandhian literature and will be doing so for the rest of my life, since the flow of books appearing on Mahatma Gandhi seems to be continuous, be it from his own hand or others, by his countrymen or by foreigners, be they his admirers or critics. I must say the more I delve in Gandhian literature the more fascinated I am by the power of Ahi-sa that has been "properly understood and used."

When I compare Gandhi's life with the Buddha's I do not mean to place the former on a par with the latter, for nothing would horrify Gandhi more than to be considered a saint. I am doing so more in the spirit of demonstrating how a certain principle is taken up by a kindred spirit and expanded in response to the challenges of a given time.

It would seem that whenever conditions are at a low ebb in life personalities emerge to give society a moral boost. For us Hindus this is an old belief, for it has been stated in the *Bhagavad Gita* where Krishna assures Arjuna:

When goodness grows weak
When evil increases
I make myself a body
In every age I come back
To deliver the holy
To destroy the sin of the sinner

And to establish righteousness.¹

Buddha came when the tyranny of Brahmanism and priest craft were at their peak. By his life, example and teaching a new awareness was awakened, establishing new values to sustain life. Both Buddha and Gandhi demonstrated with their lives the supreme and superior quality of *Ahi-sā* (nonviolence) as the transforming and saving element in every department of life. Buddha's teaching was not meant to be a full explanation of everything. This is illustrated by an episode of his life when he was teaching his disciples. Taking some leaves in his hand he asked his beloved disciple *Ānanda* to tell him whether there were any other leaves besides those in his hand. To which *Ānanda* replied, "The leaves of autumn are falling on all sides. And there are more of them than can be numbered." Buddha then said: "In like manner I have given you a handful of truths, but besides these there are many thousands of other truths more than can be numbered."

Man's suffering and in the case of Gandhi, the suffering of the masses - a phenomenon of modern times only - moved both men to the depths of their being and launched them on the path of search.

With *Ahi-sā* as the point of departure, Buddha arrived at the Eightfold Path of: Right Beliefs, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindedness, and Right Rapture.

Gandhi in the 20th century arrived at *Satyāgrāha* or Soulforce. But more important it is to know how this Soulforce is to be engendered and cultivated. This he did in a unique manner. He fashioned a tool that took the form of a community, an Ashram, governed by the well-known "*Ekadaśa Vrata*" or eleven vows, which is an expansion of the ancient five cardinal vows. This Ashram became the training ground for future *Satyāgrāhis*, nonviolent soldiers of Truth who are ready to die for Truth without even lifting a little finger to

¹ *Bhagavad Gītā* IV. 7-8.

retaliate when attacked. At the same time Gandhi offered with his Ashram an alternative lifestyle to the current social structure that had become unresponsive to the changing circumstances. In fact he was experimenting with this Ashram to find a new way of life that embraced the welfare of all. Thus Sarvodaya - the welfare of all - can be said to be the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to present day India with her immense and compounded problems, social, political and economical. For that matter all developing countries could try this alternative, of course with adjustment to the local situation.

It is very interesting to observe how as early as 1915, when Gandhi started his Satyāgrāha Ashram in Sabarmati he already seemed to have a clear vision of the nature of modern civilization. In my opinion every one of the global problems touched upon at international seminars, workshops or conferences is harking back to Gandhian ideas and experiments of roughly sixty years ago. This we will see more clearly when we care to take a closer look at the Ekadaśa Vrata or Eleven Vows.

They covered: Ahiṁsa (Nonviolence); Satya (Truth); Asteya (Non-stealing); Brahma-carya (Chastity); Aśaṅgraha (Non-attachment); Ārāṇa (Bodily labor); Svādā (Control of the palate); Sarvatra-bhayavarjana (Fearlessness everywhere); Sarvadharmā samānātva (Respect for all religions as for one's own); Svadeshi (Self-reliance); and Sparśa bhāvanā (Identification by touch).

I am not proposing to dwell upon each of them, as some of them are known also to other religions. Only those that are of particular interest and relevance to our present global situation I would like to go into. They are:

Brahma-carya:

This ancient Hindu virtue believed to give extraordinary moral and spiritual power to those who observe it faithfully. Gandhi practiced this ever since he decided to devote his life to the service to the poor, that was at the age of thirty-seven. How meticulously and religiously he observed this vow. One needs only to read the numerous essays and accounts of his

fellow-workers and contemporaries, in particular of his invaluable secretaries Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal.

Once at the time when riots and murder prevailed in Central India Gandhi was pursued by a young lady journalist from Britain who badly wanted an interview with Gandhi. Pressed for time, finally Gandhi asked her to join him on the train that was to take Gandhi to the disturbed area during which journey he hoped to squeeze a few minutes out of his very precious time. There in the midst of agitation and suspense Gandhi coolly and effectively answered the lady's questions. Deeply impressed by his composure she asked him how he managed to remain unruffled and calm amidst turmoil. Prompt and clear came the answer: "*Brahma-carya, Brahma-carya!*"

In connection with it the following is indicative of the prevailing values in the West. Vincent Sheean the well-known American Quaker also spent some time with Mahatma Gandhi. On the subject of *Brahma-carya* he was reported to have remarked: "Satyā, yes, is possible, Ahi-sā is difficult but *Brahma-carya* is impossible."

Visits to the West and my reading on the current mood, especially among the young of the West make me believe that *Brahma-carya* is perhaps impossible for the leadership at large in Europe or the United States. Reason and convenience are enthroned in most developed countries, so much so that there is no holiness any more.

***Asaṅgraha* or Non-attachment:**

This is a broader concept than "*aparigraha*" (non-possession), one of the five traditional Hindu cardinal vows. From the first stanza of the *Iśyavasopaniṣad* and this "*Asaṅgraha*" Gandhi developed his theory of Trusteeship, an idea we also find in the Bible. Believing as he did that ultimately everything belongs to God and nobody owns anything, not even one's own body. Thus in Trusteeship there is no room for private property, strictly speaking. But as a kind of period of transition the rich are allowed to keep their riches, however doing this as a Trustee. They should

use of their possessions as much as is strictly needed for their well-being, keeping the rest as a trust and using it for the common good.

This idea of Trusteeship in a way set Vinoba Bave, Gandhi's spiritual heir and first Satyagrahi, on his Padayatra or foot-tour, covering the whole width and length of India in six years time. It took him through thousands of Indian villages, talking to innumerable villagers and landlords to persuade the latter to part with some of their land which in turn would be redistributed among the landless poor.

In the present situation where there is scarcity of so many vital necessities for millions of people the more incumbent it is upon us to give this concept of Trusteeship serious consideration.

***/arxra- rana* or Bodily labor:**

Requires that every member of a Gandhian Ashram performs useful bodily labor for at least three hours a day. A sentence related to this idea is written on the wall of our Ashram, which one passes upon entering the place. The sentence taken from Gandhi's booklet "A thought for the Day" says: "He who does not labor and yet eats, eats stolen food." It is certain that its underlying thought will considerably change the present picture of unemployment everywhere if we seriously begin to implement this injunction. The basic thought that constructive manual work done every day is good for body and soul one only has to translate into action to experience the truth of it.

***/svda* or Control of the palate:**

Mahatma Gandhi himself wondered why this particular vow has been largely ignored by those practicing austerities in India. Later he understood why this was so: */svda* was the most difficult of all vows to observe. But Gandhi knew how to make a virtue of necessity and giving this strictly spiritual discipline a practical turn it launched him on his experiments with dietaries and nature cure. His booklet that appeared under the title of *Key to Health* was translated into German as early

as 1916. The gist of it is that the human body, being a creation of God, is essentially perfect and can remain perfect if we only know how to treat it. Gandhi's concern over food and health led to the establishment of the now famous Nature Cure Centre at Urulikanchan near Poone in Central India. And, what do we witness nowadays? In all the advanced countries, vegetarianism and Nature cures are gaining ground. Indeed a profound understanding of our own body will rescue us from the manipulation of profiteers in the medical world.

***Svadeshi* or Self reliance:**

Although this principle is quite widely known ever since Gandhi started his constructive programs, which was part and parcel of his freedom movement, Third World Countries now more than ever should give this principle which is at the base of true freedom really an honest chance. Where we seem to be more and more at the mercy of consumerism *svadeshi* offers the only way-out if we want to be free. It is high time for our developing countries and the "Fourth World" - a term used by the British writer Mr. R. T. Hart - to knock at the door of big houses of business and urge them to manufacture things for genuine need and not for sheer profit.

Gandhi had a deep understanding of Peace and Freedom, an understanding which was the outcome of earnest application of what he believed in alternated by prayer and reflection. So he came to know that peace and freedom are inextricably bound up with economics and Nature and the human heart. Therefore nonviolent production, labor-capital relations, Nature Cure, Food and last but not least women's liberation were prominent in his whole career. Even the living quality of plants did not escape his notice. An incident illustrating this fact is the following:

One evening his English disciple Miraben, entered his room excitedly saying: "Bapu come and see how the Neem leaves turn closer to each other in the evening." Whereupon Gandhi looking up from his writing, remarked: "Did you not know that? Of course, trees like us also go to sleep."

Buddha was deeply moved by the suffering that he saw around him; of beggars, of diseased people, of starving animals. Now in our time suffering is well nigh total and complete: not only man and animal suffer, but plants too suffer, nay even the very air we breathe suffers as does the soil of mother earth. I have just come across a book, *Revive our Dying Planet*, which depicts this total suffering of creation vividly. Sarala Devi, the Indian name for its British born author - Katherine Mary Heilmann, came to India in 1932 to become involved in Gandhian village uplift work and stayed ever since. Thus this book is the long range view it presents of a global and historical survey of the plight of our earth and what it contains. Factual illustrations from different situations in important parts of the world, the urgent harmony and cooperation required of saint and artist, of Nature and technology make the book interesting and profitable reading. In the chapter on harmony in modern Eastern and Western thought,² quietly but clearly she shows the current trend in the philosophical approach partly by culling writings or statements of people who are known for their concern for the future of man. Also the subtitle, which says "An Ecological, Socio, Economical and Cultural Appeal," prepares us for what to expect. The whole book is pervaded by its author's deep respect for and sense of the living quality of God's creation. Every person concerned about peace and in particular those who are involved in education I warmly recommend to read it.

Gandhi's concern for the liberation of women was translated into action by his saintly disciple Vinoba Bave, who started Brahma Widya Mandir - temple for the pursuit of the science of God - Ashram at Paunar, Wardha in Central India. This Ashram opened its doors to Brahmacharinis or women celibates where they can take up the study of the Vedas, until then only the prerogative of men. True to the Gandhian ideal, besides study, the sisters devote their free time, after doing bread labor to the service of the nearby area. Another interesting feature of this

² Paige, 122-139.

Ashram is their experiment in Kanchan-mukti Prayog, i.e., experiment in liberation from money economy. They produce almost everything required for their basic need. At Vinoba's suggestion in 1967 another interesting event took place. Four of the sisters went on a 12-year *Lokayatra* or pilgrimage among the people. Quietly they walked from village to village throughout India and effectively awakened women to become aware of their power for good in their own community, working for national unity and world peace towards a nonviolent society. To commemorate the conclusion of this *Lokayatra*, an international women's conference was held at Brahma Widya Mandir in 1979-1980 with the theme Stree Shakti or Women's Power, the true awakening of Women.

Another example of the impact of Gandhi's leadership can be found in Europe. Lanza del Vasto, poet, sculptor and artist, having heard of Gandhi's work went to India, nay literally walked to India in 1936 and stayed there for three months. After long wanderings back in Europe he finally settled down in the south of France and started the community, The Ark. This community of 200 people too based its life on nonviolent principles and bread labor and crafts. They have proven that the perfect observance of *Svadeshi* and bread labor yet leaves enough savings to be shared with the poor. At the end of each year the community's chest is ceremoniously emptied and its content distributed among the poor of the neighborhood. This is how they try to free themselves of the power of '*Kanchan*' or gold.

Crossing the Pacific we see Gandhi's influence operating at a strictly political level. In the United States Martin Luther King, Jr. drew his lesson from the "Naked Fakir of India" as Winston Churchill in his irritation scathingly referred to Gandhi. The Black American leader once wrote: "Jesus taught me the ethics I need to live by, Gandhi taught me how to put those ethics into action."

Especially after the showing of the Gandhi film renewed and deep interest in this remarkable phenomenon of the 20th century has been aroused, which interest will, hopefully, help

Greenleaf publications in New Hampshire to sustain and solidify its existence as a publishing enterprise of Gandhian literature in the States?

I am mentioning these illustrations to show how miraculously indeed the power of *Ahi-sā* and Truth traveled to reach individuals who already left the stirrings of that Unseen Power. Gandhi not only translated Buddha's teaching into action but at the same time expanded it when he took up the challenge of our age, i.e., the challenge of violence posing a threat to society, economics, politics, and nature, which is the very bedrock of our human existence. It is this kind of leadership our age needs. Along with veteran Gandhian workers I believe that perhaps our age is not one that will throw up great leaders. Rather it seems that every person should become his own leader in this age of democracy. It seems to me that our focus should now not be on the leadership, but rather on fellowship.

Now I would like to address myself to the sponsors and participants of this seminar. What could we do to promote and stimulate Fellowship for Peace? I take here the term fellowship in its original sense of 'committed community', reflecting on the weak manifestation of Buddhism in Indonesia despite the magnificent tribute to him in architectural expression. Buddhism was on the decline since the eighth century downward. There is no doubt so due to the absence of Fellowship among its followers.

It is encouraging and hope-giving to have this seminar here in Japan the first - and hopefully the last - victim of technology's horror. For verily it is in Japan that we see a vigorous revival of Buddhism as manifested for instance in Sōka Gakkai and Risshō Kōsei-kai. It would be good if as a result of this seminar for instance could be drawn up an inventory of existing fellowships all over the world that have *Ahi-sā* or nonviolence as their guiding principle. Such a list will facilitate communication among like-minded groups committed to Peace.

A more specific proposal I would like to make to the Peace Research Institute of Sōka University as the initiator and sponsor of our seminar.

Could this Peace Research Institute of Sōka University explore and work towards making Ahi-s□-Nonviolence a university subject? Could it be somehow integrated in the Natural and Social Sciences? It is in particular of great importance that Political Science should cover Ahi-s□ as an aspect of itself. As you may have noticed Gandhi's preoccupation with Truth and Truth is synonymous with Peace, and can only be arrived at by observing Nonviolence, landed him in almost every department of life, even without premeditation.

Life meant to Gandhi experiment, which is why he gave his autobiography the title of "My Experiment with Truth". His attitude to life was that of a scientist's, testing every one of his ideas in the realities of life. Life to him was a vast laboratory, where he was seeking Truth with Ahi-s□ for his instrument.

Gandhi is also looked upon by the Hindus as a Karmayogin, i.e., one whose discipline to find God is through incessant selfless work. Thus even as Buddha's view of Nirvana, Ahi-s□ meant: to Gandhi incessant activity devoid of selfish taint.

The great advantage of studying Gandhi is that for the first time in history is there such a wealth of detailed information on a tremendously active life spent unswervingly in the service of Peace. His collected Works undertaken by the government of India cover 99 volumes of 500 pages each and of which 86 already have been published. Close to a thousand books have been written on Gandhi and after the release of the film more are likely to appear in print.

By studying Gandhi's life we may discover that Peace ; to be abiding requires ceaseless search and activity based on Ahi-s□. If Peace is the concern of your institute then it follows that analyses of Gandhi's activities should take a place of importance in your research along with those of other champions of Peace. The characteristic of our age seems to be Science and Technology, which have molded modern life in a caste that can only lead to our own annihilation.

Therefore it is almost obligatory upon our universities to offset this trend by introducing and establishing Ahi-s□ in their realms. There is no surer guide in the Atomic age than the man who forged a weapon to match the destructive power of the

atom. This weapon resides in the power of the Atman, called Satyāgrāha. It was discovered in Black Africa long before the fission of the atom. Thus now it is the power of the Atman pitted against that of the atom.

In homage to the spirit of the Buddha I would like to conclude my address with a Hindu mantra in which this spirit is imbedded, reflecting the Buddha's infinite compassion:

*Natwaham kamaya rajyam -
Na swargam na punarbhavam
Kamaaye dhuka taptaanam
Praninaam aarthi naashnam³
Om, Çanti, Çanti*

Gedong Bagoes Oka
Ashram Çanti Dasa
Çandi Desa 24 November 1984

³ I do not desire kingdom / Nor heaven nor noble birth / This I beseech Thee
/ To relieve those who suffer from their misery / be they man, animal or plant.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF BUDDHISM AND THE BUDDHIST PEACE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.

Ryo Imamura

History of Buddhism in the U.S.

It was the organization of the Theosophical Society by Colonel Henry Olcott and Madame Blavatsky in New York in 1875 which first stimulated interest in Buddhism by significant numbers of Americans. Through the publications and lectures sponsored by this society, many people became familiar with such Buddhist concepts as nirvana, karma and rebirth.

The World's Parliament of Religions, which was held in Chicago during the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, had greater importance for the early development of American Buddhism than any other single event. On that occasion, Anagarika Dharmapala, a Sri Lankan layman who was influential in establishing Mahabodhi Societies in America, and Shōen Shaku, a Rinzai Zen master who promoted the growth of Zen in U.S., gave impressive lectures. Paul Carus, a major publisher of books and later the author of the famous book *The Gospel of the Buddha*, was so impressed by the Buddhist lectures that he

decided to patronize the spread of Buddhism, especially Zen, in the U.S. He employed Daisetsu T. Suzuki, a student of Shōin Shaku, to write for his publishing house. Through his extensive writings, D.T. Suzuki has probably done more than any other person to introduce Zen and Mahāyāna Buddhism to the West.

During the latter half of the 19th century, in Hawaii and on the West Coast of the U.S. mainland, American industrialists began looking to the Far East for cheap labor. During the 1860's and 1870's, hundreds of thousands of Chinese males were imported to build railroads and work in the gold mines of California. When the Chinese workers began to demand higher wages, the Chinese were replaced by Japanese workers from 1882 on. Virtually all of the Japanese were males of agricultural backgrounds from areas of Southern Japan where the Jōdo Shin sect was very influential. Therefore the first Japanese Buddhist priests to arrive in Hawaii in 1889 and on the U.S. mainland in 1899 to care for the spiritual needs of the growing Japanese-American population were of the Jōdo Shin sect (actually the Nishi Hongwanji or West School of the Original Vow of Amida Buddha). This branch of Jōdo Shinshū grew into what was for long the largest denomination of Hawaiian and American Buddhism, and it has retained its original character of consisting mostly of Americans of Japanese descent. Following the arrival of Jōdo Shinshū, several other Japanese sects soon appeared in the United States. These included the Higashi Hongwanji (East School of Jōdo Shin), the Jōdo sect, the Rinzai and Soto Zen sects, the Nichiren Sect and the Shingon sect.

Until World War II the only significant growth in American Buddhism was taking place in the Japanese community temples as the Japanese-American communities grew in numbers and strength. Other than the small clusters of Caucasian neophytes gathered about a scattered handful of Zen priests, Theravādin bhikkhus and Tibetan lamas, there were very few non-Asians showing interest in Buddhism.

After World War II, the Japanese community temples were unable to fully recover from the forced evacuation of

Japanese-American citizens from the West Coast. This phenomenon was balanced by an upsurge of interest in Buddhism among non-Asians in the U.S. It appears that many American servicemen stationed in Japan and other parts of Asia developed an interest in Buddhism. Also the lectures on Zen given by D. T. Suzuki at Columbia University between 1950 and 1958 and the “Beat Zen” fad in the late 50’s led to a reawakening of interest among intellectuals and inspired several future leaders of American Buddhism to go to Japan and other places in Asia to study Buddhism and practice meditation.

In the middle 50’s and early 60’s, several Zen centers were established in scattered areas of the U.S. including Chicago, San Francisco, Cambridge and Rochester. During the same period Risshō Kōsei-kai and Nichiren Shōshū of America, both lay-oriented sub-sects of the Nichiren sect, opened branches in Southern California.

During the 1960’s and through the 1970’s, Theravāda, Vajrayāna, Korean and Chinese Buddhism began attracting large numbers of American students and scholars. And in the 1970’s and into the 1980’s, the Indo-Chinese refugees brought their own unique forms of Buddhism with them but remain largely insulated from the larger society in their ethnic groupings.

American Buddhism in the 1980’s

There are many Buddhist groups and organizations in the U.S. In fact the World Fellowship of Buddhists lists 58 separate Buddhist organizations in the U.S., the largest number for any country. The Buddhist Peace Fellowship has a partial listing of 308 Buddhist groups in the U.S. Practically all existing forms of Buddhism in the world are represented as well as new eclectic and nondenominational forms of Buddhism.

As a result of the indeterminate organizational structure of most Buddhist groups, exact figures for the number of Buddhists in the U.S. are impossible to obtain. Estimates run anywhere from 300,000 to 500,000. The greatest concentration

of Buddhists is on the West Coast and in Hawaii with the East Coast ranking next.

Non-Asian Buddhists tend to be in the 21-35 age range, male, single, Caucasian, from Jewish or Catholic backgrounds, college-educated, and share a sense of up-rootedness.

Asian Buddhists tend to be either under 17 or over 35 with relatively few teenagers or young adults showing interest, in further contrast to the non-Asian Buddhists, they are married, born into the Buddhist tradition, less educated and very much rooted in their families and ethnic communities.

Although the number of Buddhists continues to grow rapidly, Buddhists have wielded very little power or influence in American society. The main reason for this phenomenon is that American Buddhists have rarely attempted to form a common organization, much less try to establish contact or engage in some form of cooperative effort. There has been little communication between Asian and Caucasian groups, between Japanese and Chinese groups, between Nichiren and Jodo groups, and even between Zen and Zen groups. The few attempts that have been made to get different Buddhist groups together have usually ended in misunderstandings and power struggles.

Buddhist Peacemaking in the U.S.

Peacemaking efforts by Buddhists have been largely initiated and conducted by individuals. It is sad that most of the Buddhist priests and laity consider "peace" beyond one's own peace of mind to be a dangerous and Communist-inspired issue and prefer not to discuss it.

Asian Buddhists are insecure as ethnic minorities and are always trying to prove their loyalty to the government. They consider their temples to be mausoleums for the family remains and social centers for their ethnic group. Their discomfort with both Caucasians and other Asian ethnic groups runs very deep.

Non-Asian Buddhists tend to be young and “floating”, escaping from their past associations and searching for new directions. They have little time and energy to devote to interests outside of their immediate needs.

Despite the inherent difficulties in organizing a Buddhist peace movement, the Buddhist Peace Fellowship has been successful in bringing together American Buddhists from many traditions to respond with wisdom and compassion to the sufferings around the world caused by political, social and ecological ignorance. Founded in 1978, BPF also has affiliate chapters in England and Australia and is in close contact with many European and Asian Buddhists who are committed to world peace.

BPF members can often be seen conducting meditation vigils in front of military installations and government facilities, mobilizing the “peace vote”, writing letters of concern to congressmen and other public officials, distributing written materials on “engaged Buddhism” to the public, training Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike in ways to convert despair into empowerment and compassionate action, establishing meditation halls in prisons, and actively opposing political oppression and human rights violations around the world.

Another Buddhist organization, which is widely known and respected for its efforts for peace, is Nipponzan Myōhōji, another sub-sect of the Nichiren sect. Its monks and nuns are often seen chanting and beating their drums at peace demonstrations around the U.S. and also in Europe.

Some of the larger more established Buddhist organizations have initiated noteworthy projects of social significance in recent years. A few that come to mind are the Indo-Chinese refugee resettlement program headed by the Sino-American Buddhist Association, the Cambodian relief fund of the Buddhist Churches of America (Jōdo Shin), and the animal protection campaign by the Buddhists Concerned for Animals which is headquartered at the San Francisco Zen Center. It should be noted that many of the more active participants in these activist projects are BPF members.

BUDDHISM AND PEACE IN MODERN JAPAN

A Preliminary Overview¹

Tsuyoshi Nakano

This paper is a short review of the Japanese Buddhists' attitudes and their activities toward peace in modern Japanese history after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. When we deal with this topic, it is necessary to consider the relation of religious groups with the State as well as the relationship of these groups among themselves in society. It is because we cannot help considering peace without also considering the problem of war, which is given rise to by the State in modern societies. Thus, to understand their attitudes and actions for peace, we have to examine not only their religious doctrines and thoughts but also their social relations.

The topics which I will discuss here are divided into three areas. The first is the reactions of Buddhist groups toward the State and the war before and during the Second World War. The second is the changes seen in established Buddhist groups after War and their peace movements conducted with other

¹ This paper is revised from one that was originally presented at the second international seminar on "Buddhism and Leadership for Peace", held at Tokyo under the auspices of the Institute of Peace Research, Sōka University, from 2nd to 7th December, 1984.

religions, such as the one organized by member-religions of the Religions League of Japan (Nihon Shūkyō Renmei), as one of the representative examples of a peace movement by religious groups in Japan after the War. The third is the peace ideals and movements of Sōka Gakkai as another representative example of a Buddhist peace movement and their characteristics compared to the former.

1. The reactions of Buddhist groups toward the State and War before and during the Second World War

In order to discuss the action taken by Buddhism for peace in Japan in the past and the present, one must begin by touching upon the contributions 'made in that direction by Japan's Buddhist groups in the context of the 2nd World War toward the policies of the Imperial Japanese Government and the carrying out of that war. This contribution was brought about through the relationship maintained between the government and the religions of Shintōism; Buddhism, and Christianity throughout the modern history of Japan beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

The Manchurian Incident began in September 1931, and the Pearl Harbor attack which led to the Pacific War took place in December 1941. It is a well known fact that the Japanese government and the military encouraged each other in the further expansion of aggressive acts of war in both cases, and justified these national policies under the name of Imperialistic State Shintōism.

This State Shintōism consisted of the government setting up all Shintōist Rituals and observances as official cult of the State and ordering all citizens to observe them, thus utilizing the Shintōist ceremonial events to enhance nationalism. It was based upon 'Shrine Shintō', but, different from its ancient form, it was recreated as a sort of new national religion by the

government after the Meiji Period.² In other words, it was the basis of an imperialist State-Shintōist Establishment in which Shrine Shintō was regarded by the government not as a religion but as the Japanese national Ideology and dominated other general religions. And this establishment attempted to unite the nation under a single 'national polity (*Kokutai*)' ideal in which the authority of the Emperor was based upon the myths found in the ancient chronicles called the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, and the moral code was based upon the Imperial Rescript on Education.³

While a token freedom of religion was recognized by the Meiji Constitution of 1889; the government authority itself had a strong religious character which put strict limitations on the extent of that freedom. And any religious group that made the attempt to carry their freedom beyond that framework found themselves the object of governmental suppression.⁴ The legal weapons used by the government in this suppression were the articles concerning the crime of disrespect such as Article 74 of the Penal Code and the Maintenance of Public Order Act established in 1925 and strengthened and revised for the worse in later years.

The religious groups that were investigated, suppressed, and whose activities were hindered under these laws include such folk religions founded on the basis of Shintō tradition as Ōmotokyō, Tenrikyō, Honmichikyō, Hito No Michi Kyōdan, and Konkōkyō, such Christian groups as Tōdaisha, Seventh Day Adventists, and Holiness, as well as such Buddhist groups as Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei, and the forerunner of today's Sōka Gakkai known as Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai. It was one of the most typical of the few Buddhist groups that were suppressed. The

² Yoshiya Abe, "Kaisetsu: Sengo no Jōkyō (The Religious Situation in Japan after the Second World War)" in Tamuru, Muraoka, Miyata, eds., *Nihonjin no Shūkyō IV - Kindai Nihon Shūkyōshi Shiryō* (Tokyo: Kōsei Press, 1973), 283.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Ken Arai, *Kaisetsu: Kokka Kenryoku eno Teikō to Zassetsu* (Resistance to the State Power and its Failure) in Tamuru, Muraoka, Miyata, eds. (Tokyo: Kōsei Press, 1973), 231.

Sōka Kyōiku Gakkai opposed the religious control for the amalgamation of sects under the Religious Group Law of 1939 which was set up for the purpose of strengthening the government establishment in preparation for entering the Pacific War. It also adamantly refused to worship and enshrine the sacred tablets of Ise Shrine saying that this was against its teachings.

As a result, President Makiguchi and other major staff members were thrown into prison. Makiguchi died while still in prison, but throughout all the investigations and interrogations he was subjected to there, he continued to stress the spirit of Nichiren's theory of the establishment of the True Dharma and the Peace of the country. He insisted that the source of the prevailing internal strife, famine, and epidemics, as well as the desire of the nation to start a war were all due to mistaken ideology. And he never ceased in his efforts to point out the errors of State Shintō⁵

However, movements that criticized the attitude and policies of the government in the light of their own religious convictions and ideals and took an active stance against the government before and during the war were extremely rare in Japanese religions. And there was not a single broad scale conscientious objectors movement like those found in the West. The majority of those in Japan's world of religion gave their complete cooperation and approval to all government policies from the Meiji Restoration until the end of the 2nd World War. And both Buddhism and Christianity were no exception. As a matter of fact, they were in the very mainstream of this tendency.

First, let us take a look at the world of Japanese Buddhism since the Meiji Restoration. It suffered a great shock in the anti-Buddhist movement that arose immediately

⁵ Concerning Makiguchi's opinion against the State Shintōism, see *Tokkō Geppō*, July issue of 1943, and Shinobu Ōe, *Yasukuni Jinjya*, Iwanami Shinsho 259 (Tokyo: Iwanami Press, 1984), 55-6 and Mikio Aoki, "Senjika no Shūkyō Dan'atsu (Oppression on Religious Groups during the War)", in *Daisan Bunmei*, 261 (1983): 78-90.

following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but subsequent to the failure of the first trial of the government toward establishing Shrine Shintō as the State religion, Buddhism was one of the earliest groups to get back on its feet. It responded to the prevailing rise of Nationalism by lending an active hand to such government policies as the promulgation of the Imperial Way and attacks on Christianity.⁶ In this manner, Buddhism proceeded with singleness of heart to maintain and expand its power and influence. Mr. Senshō Murakami (1851-1929) of the Jōdo Shinshū Ōtani Sect is a typical example, of those who continued to curry favor with the government. He insisted that it was thanks to the will of the Emperor that the anti-Buddhist movement did not prove to be a total disaster for Buddhism, and that for this reason, Buddhists were obliged to extend their heartfelt gratitude to the Emperor.⁷ These attitudes that made a plea for fidelity to the Emperor led the Buddhists to forget the fight against Shintōism which actually had given rise to the movement, and consequently justified the claim that it was better to attack Christianity, which the government considered heretical.

Also in the context of 'A Conflict between Education and Religion Incident' Which began with the disrespect incident of Kanzō Uchimura, one of Japan's very few Christian anti-war pacifists in 1891, the attitude of Japanese Buddhists was entirely on the side of Nationalism. On the other hand, Enryō Inoue (1858-1919), a philosopher-priest of the same sect, was Uchimura's main critic. He insisted, in his *Introduction to Buddhist Activism (Bukkyō Katsuron Joron)*, that defense of the nation and the love of truth are the same thing. It was on this basis that he developed his Nationalistic education theory, and that he made the self-righteous judgment that Christianity has no truth and Buddhism is the only true religion. His

⁶ Shigemoto Tokoro, *Kindai Nihon no Shūkyō to Nationalism* (Tokyo: Huzanbō Press, 1966), 60-64.

⁷ Senshō Murakami, "Joji (Preface)", in *(Sinpen) Meiji Ishin Shinbutsu Bunri Shiryō*, Reprint Version, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Meicho Press, 1966), 24-25, 27-28.

National Defense Patriotism was nothing more than an adaptation of a protectionist theory of the state, in the Japanese tradition of Buddhism tracing its history from ancient times, down through the middle ages and the Tokugawa Period.⁸

Such a Buddhist theory that Buddhism and political rule are interdependent (*Ōhō Buppō Huni Ron*) or that Buddhism must be obedient to the State government or ruler (*Kokushū Hōjyu Ron*) is an ideology that has existed as a part of the traditions of Japanese Buddhism since ancient times, and it was utilized by the mainstream of the Japanese Buddhism since the Meiji Restoration as an ideological basis for currying favor with governmental authority and for justifying its support of the numerous wars of aggression. The Zen philosopher Daisetsu Suzuki, who supported the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, followed in the footsteps of Zen master Toin Iida's statement that 'if the State is destroyed, who is left to protect Buddhism? ... There is nothing but fidelity in Buddhism,' in his *Buddhist National Defense Theory* (*Buppō Gokoku Ron*). Based upon this statement, Suzuki Stated in his *New Religious Ideology* (*Shin Shunkyō Ron*), 'Religion must first and foremost work to maintain the existence of the nation...' And he went on to insist that the Sino-Japanese war was a true religious activity for the purpose of chastising the violent nation of China and promoting the progress of the human race.⁹

At the time of the Russo-Japanese War in February 1904, pacifist Tolstoy made an appeal to the Japanese Buddhists to take a stand against the war on the basis on the basis of the Buddhist precepts against the taking of life. In response, Shōen Shaku represented the Japanese Buddhists by answering that as true citizens of Japan, they could not help but support the war. It is said that Tolstoy was very disappointed with this answer."¹⁰ And this is not all. In May of the same year, a Japan Religionists Convention was held. It

⁸ Tokoro, *op. cit.*, 45-47.

⁹ Hakugen Ichikawa, *Nihon Fascism ka no Shūkyō* (*Religions under the Japanese Fascism*) (Tokyo: NS Press, 1975), 34-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

was attended by representatives of Shintōism, Buddhism, and Christianity. And it closed with the unanimous decision to support the national government in that war and to encourage the collaboration among Japanese religious for carrying out national policies effectively.

Another important incident marked by this convention was the defection of Japan's world of Christianity. The Conflict between Education and Religion Incident,¹¹ which I mentioned earlier, was initiated by Christian leader Uchimura's criticism of the Imperial Rescript on Education, and it developed into a controversy among Christians, Buddhists, and Nationalists. A certain number of Christians had premonitions of the decadence that could come about due to the forcing of a moral code upon the public by governmental authority. It was for this purpose that they attempted a last hopeless struggle to protect the freedom of the conscience to establish its own internal moral standards which can also be called freedom of religion. But most of the opinions expressed by Christians indicated that there was no conflict between Christianity and the National Polity on this point, and they never went so far as to attack the conflicts inherent in the State Shintōist Establishment itself. But at that time, as had been predicted, Uchimura maintained his stance against the war making himself a heretic in the eyes of the mainstream of the Japanese Christianity which was then making every effort to receive the 'approbation' of Japanese society and governmental authority by seeking after freedom of belief only within the confines of the church while, of course, working in strict accordance with the governmental policies to begin the Sino-Japanese War. As a result, Christianity was recognized as a religion that concurred with the national polity in the Three Religions Amalgamation of 1912.¹² Vice Minister for Home Affairs Takejirō Tokonami called a joint meeting of representatives of the three religions

¹¹ For historical materials and comments on this incident, see Chapter 3 of Tamaru, Muraoka, Mirata, eds., *op. cit.*, 123ff.

¹² Arai, *op. cit.*, 234. Tokoro, *op. cit.*, 87f.

of Shintōism, Buddhism, and Christianity at which the decision to 'support the Imperial Way and further promote morality among the people' was reiterated, and cooperation with and submission to governmental authority was attested to.

Subsequently, the State Shintōism and Three Religions Establishment, within which Shrine Shintōism was no longer considered a separate religion but a National Cult in which all its Rituals and observances were public Affairs and in which Sectarian Shintōism, the Existing Buddhism, and Christianity were given public recognition, protection, and special privileges was strengthened even further. These religions became the matrix from which active movements were set up by the government to establish nationwide unity and a general national spirit mobilization as preparations began to be made for a wartime establishment in 1930's. Then in accordance with the Religious Group Law, a religious regulation policy was effected under which sects and denominations were consolidated into 13 sects of Sectarian Shintōism, 28 sects of Buddhism, and two groups of Christianity-one old and one new.¹³ And along with the entry into the Pacific War in 1941, all these religious groups came together to organize a Wartime Patriotism Group. In September 1943, 300,000 religionists from these three religions had a joint meeting to officially establish the Greater Japan Wartime Patriotism Group. And this group played an important role as an organ of the Greater Imperial Japan Ideology to stimulate the theory that it was a holy war and to effect the entry into aggressive war activity. This was the true situation in the relationship of Japan's religious world and government with war both before and during the war. And Buddhism was very much a part of this scene.

¹³ Abe, *op. cit.*, 283-85.

2. Changes in Buddhist groups after the War and their measures taken to solve the problem of Peace

Japan's post-war period began with the defeat in August 1945, followed by occupation by the Allied Forces and the carrying out of the occupation policies of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). The aim of those occupation policies was to achieve the demilitarization and democratization of Japan. In other words, they were intended to eliminate the militarism and the aggressive ideologies existing in Japan along with the groups that advocated those ideals, and to establish freedom of belief and other human rights among the people of Japan, for the purpose of promoting future peace for the world. Among the orders released by the SCAP to effect this purpose, those that exerted the greatest influence upon the religious world of Japan included 'Removal of Restrictions on Political, Civil and Religious Liberties, 4 Oct. 1945' and 'Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support and Perpetuation of State Shintō, 15 Dec. 1945.' The former abolished the Maintenance of the Public Order Act and the Religious Group Law, and the latter clarified the three basic principles of the policies on religion in Japan which were known as 'Eradication of Militarism and All Extreme Nationalistic Ideology,' 'Establishment of Freedom of Religious Belief,' and 'Separation of Religion and the State'. The 'Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support and Perpetuation of State Shintō' effected the discontinuation of State Shintōism, which was thought to have been the ideology that enhanced militarism and extreme nationalism. And it dismantled the Imperialist National Shintōist Establishment which had led modern Japan into that ruinous war.

After receiving these orders, the Japanese government proclaimed and put in force the Religious Corporation Ordinance that opened the road for the continued existence of Shintōism if it were willing to take its place alongside of and equal to other religions, and it ensured an equal legal position for all religions old and new outside of the three established

religions of Shintōism, Buddhism, and Christianity, which had up to that time been the object of discrimination and suppression. The ordinance was newly developed into the Religious Juridical Persons Law on April 3, 1950.

These legal measures, along with the promulgation of the new Japanese Constitution in 1946, established a new democratic religious legal system based upon the principles of freedom of religious belief and separation of religion and the State. Shintōism was no longer the home of 'National Cult' and it took its place alongside other religions as an independent religious corporation under this legal system.¹⁴

Then what subsequent development was seen in the world of Japanese Buddhism and the general world of Japanese religion under this new democratic system?¹⁵ Just how did they deal with the problem of peace that is the main theme of this paper?

Unfortunately, the mainstream of Japan's religious world immediately following the defeat in the war was in an amazingly extreme state of do-nothingness, seemingly unable to take any sort of positive action. Also its former attitude of total submission to governmental policy had become so firmly established that it could do nothing but intone agreement with and protection of the national polity, and did nothing but sit and wait for orders from the government in all matters.

On the other hand, the Japanese government attempted to utilize religion once more as a pillar of psychological support in

¹⁴Concerning the process of changes of this legal system, see Bunkachō Bunkabu Shūmuka, in Religious Affairs Section of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, ed., *Meiji Ikō Shūkyō Seido Hyakunenshi* (Tokyo: Genshobō, 1970), 273f and also Abe, *op. cit.*, 288-91. Some parts of the provisions and the texts of these orders and law are compiled by Abe in chap. 6 of Tamaru, Muraoka, Mirata, eds., *op. cit.* On the occupation policies and reforms in Japanese religions done by SCAP, see W.P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972).

¹⁵ On the religious and social situation just after the end of the war, see Shinshūren Chōsashitsu, ed., *Sengo Shūkyō Kaisōroku* (Tokyo: Shinshūren Chōsashitsu, 1963) and H. N. McFarland, *The Rush Hour of the Gods* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

the process of rebuilding of Japan. Not only was there no apology to the people of the nation concerning the responsibility of starting the war forthcoming, but the government even began to preach the need for a general confession on the part of all the citizens of the nation, and it called a meeting of all the leaders and representatives of religion to formulate a 'Japan Reconstruction Religious Action Proposal.' The government also changed the name of the 'Greater Japan Wartime Patriotic Association of Religions' which had served as a religious control organ during the war changed its name to the 'Religious Association of Japan' in October 1945 and tried to make use of its influence again. This group was officially formulated in February 1946 with the Minister of Education as its chairman and as its General Affairs Section Chief was appointed the Ministry of Education Religious Affairs Section Chief. These appointments are proof positive of the intentions of this group. Up to this point there was absolutely no change in the relationship between government authority and the established religions, demonstrating a total lack of understanding of the principles of religious freedom and separation between religion and the State.

But apparently the contents of the occupation policies gradually came to be comprehended to a certain extent, for in May 1946, this group underwent complete reorganization. It broke completely away from government control, and in accordance with the express desires of the various religious groups themselves, it was determined that it would be completely self-governing and its name was also changed to Religious League of Japan (RLJ). And its purpose was stated to be 'a friendly tie-up between the various religious groups of Shintōism, Buddhism, and Christianity for the purpose of promoting the active development of a movement toward enlightenment, and to contribute toward the building of a

cultural Japan based upon moral principles and to serve in the establishment of world peace.’¹⁶

But the groups that joined together to make up this league at that time were the Sectarian Shintōist Federation, the Buddhist Federation (which later changed its name to the All Japan Buddhist Association), and the Japan Christian League, exactly the same groups that had been involved in the forerunner organization before the war. But in June of the same year, the conglomerate organization of Shrine Shintōism (which had become equal with all other religious organizations under the new law) known as the National Union of Shrine Shintō joined the RLJ, resulting in what can be referred to as an entirely new internal structure. However, it can also be said that this was merely a revised structure in which a fourth member—the National Union of S.S. had joined together with the three groups of Shintōists, Buddhists, and Christians.

The peace movements of the established Buddhist groups in postwar Japan were carried out as the activities of this RLJ. The RLJ held peace conferences to educate the people in the spirit of the new constitution which stipulated the renunciation of war. The first of these numerous conferences was held in May 1947 at the Tsukiji Hongwanji Temple under the title of the All Japan Religious Peace Conference. And it was followed by similar conferences in all parts of Japan. Then at the time of the hydrogen bomb experiments carried out on Bikini Island in 1954, they made a proclamation for the banning of all nuclear weapon tests, and carried out all sorts of other appeal activities. In 1960, they sent a Ban-the-Bomb Peace Mission to ten different nations including America, England, and the Soviet Union to make an active appeal for world peace.¹⁷

Buddhist groups played an active role in all these activities of the RLJ. But in actual fact, it was not necessarily clear that the people involved took part as Buddhist believers.

¹⁶ World Conference on Religion and Peace-Committee of Japan (WCRP-CJ), ed., *Sekai Heiwa eno Inari to Jissen* (Tokyo: WCRP-CJ, 1981), 28f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29ff. Sanae Nawata “Nihon ni okeru Shūkyō no Taiwa to Kōryoku”, in *Truth and Creation*, No. 23 (Tokyo: Kōsei Press, 1984): 81-8.

Also one of the most important recent activities of the RLJ in relation to the problem of peace is their joining with the Union of New Religious Organizations of Japan (UNROJ) and the active participation of this newly formed group in the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). Before the war, the various new religions that did not fit within the framework of Sectarian Shintōism, Established Buddhism, or Christianity were despised as false religions or heathen heresies, and they were severely discriminated against, and particularly under the wartime establishment, they suffered suppression in the majority of cases. But after the war, these religions gained a position of legal equality with the older established religions. And it was a gathering together of twenty-four of these new religious groups in 1951 that resulted in the formulation of the aforementioned UNROJ. Some of the major groups involved in this Union in the beginning were the Risshō Kōsei Kai, the PL Kyōdan, the Sekai Kyūsei Kyō, and Seichō No Ie (the latter two of which subsequently left the Union). Then in 1952, the JNRL gained official acceptance into the JRL. This was an epoch-making event in the history of religion in modern Japan, as it meant that the new religions were given formal recognition as being equal in status to the established religions.¹⁸ But on the other side of the picture, it is necessary to note that while, to the established religions and the government, this meant that the new religions were placed under their indirect control, it also resulted in the introduction of a new life force for the sluggish spirit of the established religions. Thus we see that everybody involved was mutually benefited by the new situation.

Within this UNROJ, the Buddhist type new religion called the Risshō Kōsei-kai played a leading role. The Risshō Kōsei-kai joined forces with the American Unitarians to promote peace and religious cooperation with a positive spirit. One of the results of their joint efforts was the opening of the First World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP-1) in Kyoto

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85f.

in 1970. And the in April 1972, the WCRP Committee of Japan was formulated within the RLJ with Risshō Kōsei-kai Chairman Niwano as its chairman. And he became the active promotional force behind its subsequent activities. It is an indisputable fact that the activities of this WCRP committee are one of the most typical peace movements developed by the religious world of Japan today.¹⁹

While I consider the activities of the WCRP extremely significant, I feel that the RLJ, which is the mother body of that organization in Japan, leaves something to be desired in terms of its own peace movement related activities. While it has gained independence for itself from the government control to become a self-governing league, one cannot help but wonder why this organization which has enjoyed freedom of belief and religious activity since the end of the war has continued to exist in exactly the same form it had before the war with no severe mutual criticism among the religions involved or self criticism of the organization itself from within. All that can be found there today is a mutual leaning post for the various religions and governmental authority in terms of both structure and textures, which shows a distinct lack of independence on the part of the various religions involved. This is the general conformity to the group born of the Japanese social structure, and it is the reason that the league has not become the home of active resistance against either the government or war. A severe look at problems such as this is an absolute necessity particularly in Japan if we wish to become a true force for peace. And this is a problem that exists even prior to all considerations of religious cooperation.

¹⁹ Concerning the history and activities of WCRP, see WCRP-CJ, ed., *op. cit.*, and Kikuo Yamaoka, "Sekai Shūkyōsha Heiwa Kaigi - A Case Report", in *Truth and Creation*, No. 23, *op. cit.*, 90-9.

3. The Peace ideals and movements of the Sōka Gakkai as an example of Buddhist Peace Movements since the end of the War

In contrast with the peace movements, developed upon the basis of the religious leagues I have so far described. I here deal with the unique activities that have been carried out by Japan's biggest Buddhist group called the Sōka Gakkai, which has developed as a lay Buddhist Organization. I will delve into the special characteristics of the peace movement of the Sōka Gakkai and the ideals behind them.

I will begin by summarizing the concrete activities toward the establishment of peace that have been carried out since the end of the war.²⁰ These activities can be divided into three general levels. The first is the activities of each president toward peace, and their declarations for world peace and against war. President Makiguchi viewed the religious control imposed by State Shintōism before the war as the source of suffering and pain for the people of the nation and as the very cause of that terrible war, and he continued to deny State Shintōism from the standpoint of a true believer in Buddhism.

The ideals of the first President Makiguchi were inherited and carried on by the second President Toda who went on to develop them further as an active Buddhist pacifist. To give an example, Mr. Toda published his 'Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Ban Proclamation' in 1957 in Yokohama. In this proclamation, he stated that the use of atomic or hydrogen bombs for any purpose whatsoever is a denial of the dignity of human life and

²⁰ On the history and activities of these movements, I made reference to the following materials: Sōka Gakkai International, ed., *In Pursuit of Lasting Peace: SGI Activities to Support the United Nations*, and also *In Pursuit of Lasting Peace: Cultural Movements of SGI*, both are brochures published by SGI in 1983 and 1984. *Daibyaku Renge: A Special Issue of Peace Activities* (Tokyo: Seikyō Press, 1984).

of the right to live, and it is for this reason that they can in no way be allowed in this world of ours.²¹

In the midst of a world situation in which the ceaseless nuclear arms race was racing forward unimpeded, this proclamation carved out a decision for the creation of peace with a view to the future crisis. Mr. Toda left this proclamation behind with the injunction that it should be kept as his most important last teaching. And it has indeed been passed down during the years to follow as the very marrow of the peace movements of the Sōka Gakkai.

During the time of the third President Ikeda, the Sōka Gakkai peace movement has spread to a worldwide level. Mr. Ikeda himself has carried out talks with the leaders, the intelligentsia, and the cultured persons of the various nations of the world for the purpose of formulating an international basis for the establishment of peace. At the same time, he began advocating the signing of a Sino-Japanese Friendship Pact from the very earliest days. He has made propositions for the abolition of nuclear weapons, as well as a broad range of other propositions concerning such matters as the strengthening of the United Nations and the solving of environmental problems. In this manner, he has developed a far-reaching 'Peace Movement' for the purpose of continued protection of the right to live for the peoples of the entire world.

The second level, of Sōka Gakkai peace movement is made up of the activities of its youth division. At the General Men's Conference in 1973, a 'Youth Division Appeal for the Protection of the Right to Live' was adopted. In this context slogans of (1) antiwar, (2) anti pollution, and (3) promotion of culture were raised, and the Youth Division began Peace Movement activities. They immediately set out to collect contributions for Vietnamese refugees and for aid to the starving African nations, and they began the publication of anti-war documents. They were particularly active in the collection of one hundred million signatures in an appeal to abolish nuclear weapons and war in answer to the dying wishes of Toda to abolish atomic and hydrogen bombs. This petition was handed over to United Nations

²¹ Jōsei Toda, "Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb Ban Proclamation, Sept. 8, 1957", *Toda Jōsei Zenshū*, Vol. 4 (Tokyo: Seikyō Press, 1984): 564-66.

Secretary General Waldheim by Mr. Ikeda. The Youth Division Peace Movement spread into a broad range of fields in the years to follow. Some of these include anti-war and peace rallies, peace lectures, anti-war and anti-nuclear weapon exhibitions, environment protection movements, and constitution protection movements, and United Nation support activities.

The third level of the Sōka Gakkai's peace movement activities is found in the carrying out of the teachings of Nichiren in daily life and the fostering of the 'desire and will for peace' among the members and sympathizers in regular meetings, plus the activities toward the creation of an international culture and peace network through the Sōka Gakkai itself and the various social organs it has established. A typical example of the former type of activity is the Peace Culture Festivals held both in Japan and the various other nations of the world by the Sōka Gakkai. These Peace Culture Festivals brought about the formulation of Sōka Gakkai International at a meeting of representatives of fifty-one nations of the world held on Guam Island in January 1975. This was followed by the opening of the First World Peace Conference during which a 'Peace Proclamation' was decided upon to pledge the restoration of the right to live and the establishment of permanent peace. And since that time, activities to effect these purposes have been carried out on an international scale. World Peace Culture Festivals attended by members and guests from all parts of the world, exceeding all national boundaries have been held in Chicago in 1981, in Tokyo in 1982, and in Osaka in 1984, and another is planned for Hawaii in 1985. This movement is for the purpose of gaining the participation and solidarity of as many people as possible and to express a clear and energetic image of peace for the future, resulting in the creation of a mutual will to carve out permanent peace for our world.

An example of the latter type of activities can be found in the Sōka University which acts as an organ for cultural, educational, and personnel exchanges between scholars, universities, and peace organizations from all parts of the world on a regular basis. Sōka University's activities are aimed toward the creating of a circle of mutual trust and cooperation

among all the peoples and organizations of the world who are striving to establish world peace. This can be referred to as efforts toward the creation of a 'Peace Structure' of an international scale that breaks through all national boundaries.

This is a summary of the general peace movement activities developed by the Sōka Gakkai. Now let us stop to take a look at the ideology upon which they base the promotion of these activities. The ideals they profess are based upon the Buddhist spirit of the 'dignity of human life' and 'absolute pacifism.' The ideology of the 'dignity of human life' is expressed in the following statement. "Our movement is a realization of the ideals of the philosophical principles on life. At the same time it is a 'Living Humanism Movement' for the purpose of providing continued protection for the right of all living human beings on this earth of ours to life and the right of survival. This movement is entirely for the purpose of life, character, and happiness for the individual, and is developed from the standpoint of the dignity of human life that must never be utilized as a device for other purposes." This statement is found in the Youth Section Appeal of February 28, 1973. It is clear that this ideology is backed up by the Mahāyāna Buddhist view of an innate Buddha-nature in all sentient beings. This the concept that all living entities, including both animate and inanimate things such as trees, grasses, and earth, come into this world with an original Buddha-nature. And since everything has an equal Buddha-nature, everything has dignity and mutual equality. Further there is the development of the Buddhist views of 'mutual existence' and 'dependent causation.' All is built upon mutual existence and harmony, for which reason all entities have an equally significant existence. And this makes it mandatory that they continue life in an environment of mutual respect. It is pointed out in Mr. Toda's proclamation that this means that all who violate or threaten the existence of another are one with Satan. In this same connection, Mr. Ikeda has utilized the words of Nichiren where he says, 'this thing called life is the

greatest of all possessions,'²² to point out that life is the greatest treasure of all and the taking of life is the greatest sin of all. He also insists that war is the great sin of killing. These ideas were expressed in his speech at the 39th General Conference on October 24, 1976.²³

Next we come to the ideology of 'absolute pacifism.' According to the statement published by the Youth Section upon their presentation of the ban-the-bomb petition carrying 100 million signatures to the United Nations in January 1975,²⁴ this involves an attitude of consciousness and action on the part of each and every individual rather than of thinking of the problem of peace as one that should be left up to the world of politics and society at large. They state that this means the building of a 'fortress for peace' in the heart of each and every individual person, plus the establishment of a way of life for each individual person that is based upon 'respect for life and an inclination toward peace.' Further, even in the development process of this movement, absolute non-violence is the law, and no non-peaceful measures or methods are ever utilized. It is thought that what is expressed here is a concern for the methods for achieving peace and the maintenance of the essences and textures of those methods. In this connection, Mr. Ikeda wrote in the first issue of the Journal titled *Peace Research*, *Sōka University*, in his article titled "The Road Toward Peace in the 21st Century," that there is a great need for the search for a integrative system by means of which the United Nations can be strengthened and a new comprehensive world order can be achieved, but at the same time, he insists that the process of

²² Nichiren, "Hakumai Ippyō Goshō", *Nichiren Daishōnin Goshō Zenshū*, Nichiren Shoshu Taiseki-ji Edition, 1596.

²³ Daisaku Ikeda, "Presidential Lecture on the Five Principles of Sōka Gakkai Movement", delivered at the 39th General Convention of Sōka Gakkai on October 24, 1976. It is compiled in *Ikeda Daisaku Senshū (Selected Writings)* (Tokyo: Seikyō Press, 1983), 194-212.

²⁴ Sōka gakkai Seinenbu Gensuibaku Kinshi Undō Yūshi no Kai, ed., *Issenman Shomei no Kiseki* (The Track toward Carrying Ten Million Signatures), January 1975.

this integration must not be achieved by power of authority.²⁵ Thus we see that he believes that the realization of peace must not come through Military power, violence, or political authority, but rather through absolutely peaceful means. And he considers this point to be of utmost importance. It can be said that this concept inevitably derives from the ideal that all individuals have dignity due to their innate Buddha-nature. This is because all movements based upon power utilize the individual as a means to an end - as a tool.

From this point of view, I believe that the importance of 'education' which is one of the unique characteristics of the Sōka Gakkai peace movement becomes clear. 'Signature collection movements, holding of anti-war and anti-nuclear exhibitions in all parts of the world, publication of anti-war documents, and Peace Culture "Festivals, as well as the Sōka education 'systems found in the Sōka University and other schools are all important elements in the movement toward instilling deep in the hearts and lives of all people the importance of peace. These are what I call our practical activities in the field of 'education for peace.'²⁶ This also becomes evident in Mr. Ikeda's plea for an 'Education United Nations.' He explains that this is the trump card in the achievement of true world peace through the power of education.²⁷

Here I have explained one of the unique characteristics of the Sōka Gakkai peace movement. In conclusion, I would like to spend the rest of the time allotted me today to explain another special feature of the various activities toward peace, particularly their relationship to religious ideas. The first special

²⁵ *Peace Research*, No. 1 (Institute of Peace Research, Sōka University, 1979): 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 7: 15-17.

²⁷ D. Ikeda and K. Takamatsu, "A Proposal for the Establishment of the International Organization for Educational Cooperation", originally presented at IAUP, held at Boston in 1975. Revised one was published in *Peace Research, op. cit.*, 21-35. Daisaku Ikeda, "Sōzōteki Seimei no Kaika" (A Lecture originally delivered at the 4th Entrance Ceremony of Sōka University, April 28, 1974), in *Ikeda Kaichō Kōenshū* (Presidential Addresses by Daisaku Ikeda), Vol. 7 (Tokyo: Seikyō Press, 1977): 233.

characteristic of the Sōka Gakkai peace movements is to presuppose the establishment of dignity for all human beings and the building of a peaceful character in all people. Second is that all activities must be extremely practical. And third is that they must be extremely realistic, or, to borrow the words of Max Weber, they must have a strong orientation toward this-worldliness. On the first point, I mentioned earlier that it is the dignity of life, which is based upon the belief in a Buddha nature in all things. But the Sōka Gakkai goes a step further to place importance upon the way for full manifestation of that Buddha-nature inherent in each individual. This manifestation in this world is based upon the Buddhist concept of ‘Achievement of Buddhahood in this Life.’ In the terminology of the Sōka Gakkai, it is called the ‘human revolution.’ In extremely common terminology, it means the improvement of personality or character in the individual. And as I already mentioned, the external methodology utilized ‘here is ‘education.’ On the other hand, the inner enlightenment of the manifestation of Buddha-nature comes through belief. They preach that a clear recognition must be made of the attachments, the confusions, and the karma suffered by all mankind in day to day life and that it is upon this basis that effort must be made to instill a strong subjectivity, wisdom, and a pure life in the hearts of those people to convert their personalities and to give them an aim toward peace and a sense of their innate individual dignity.²⁸ Accordingly, Sōka Gakkai is constantly questioning other religions as well as to whether or not there is a tendency within them to utilize human beings as tools before granting them individual dignity.

Second is the practical character. This is best illustrated in the talks carried out by Mr. Ikeda himself which he called

²⁸ A typical idea of this kind is expressed in Daisaku Ikeda’s Lecture “Toward the Twenty First Century”, delivered at UCLA on April 1, 1974. The Japanese edition of this lecture is compiled in Daisaku Ikeda, *Sekai Husei eno Chōryū o* (Tokyo: Daisan Bunmei Press, 1984), 9-22.

‘Peaceful Activism.’²⁹ Practices are also necessary to achieve full manifestation of one’s Buddha-nature. In other words, in order to realize peace, prayers and appeals alone are not enough. Mutual talks and conversations are a medium for promoting mutual trust and respect between individuals. And it is only through practical activities of this sort that a circle of human communication and solidarity can be created. In other words, it is literal practical action that the Sōka Gakkai advocates.

Third is the special characteristic of realism. This is, of course, evident in the practical activities we have just discussed, but it appears in most direct terms in the contents of the proposals that have been made by Chairman Ikeda to general sessions of the United Nations and other such organizations. In these proposals³⁰ we find pronouncements that are so fully aware of the actual situation in international politics and have such concrete ideas for the achievement of peace that it does not seem possible that they have come from the mouth of a religious leader. This special characteristic is also revealed in the attitude taken by the Sōka Gakkai to place importance upon tie-ups with people and organizations who are making a realistically effect effort toward the realization of peace rather than concentrating upon forming mutual cooperative relationships only with other religious groups. It goes without saying that the Sōka Gakkai is deeply suspicious of the structure and texture of mutual dependence and leaning found in the world of religion in Japan since before the war.

Then just what is the source of these special characteristics? I believe that the major source is the Buddhist concepts of sect founder Nichiren to which the Sōka Gakkai subscribes, along with the severe ordeals that have been suffered by the Sōka Gakkai itself. Nichiren placed great importance

²⁹ Daisaku Ikeda, “Heiwa eno Shōdō (The Right Way toward Peace)”, Lecture delivered at Beijing University, July 6, 1984. The Japanese edition is published in *Daibyaku Renge* (1984), *op. cit.*, 32-37.

³⁰ These proposals are collected in *Sekai Husen eno Chōryū o*, *op. cit.*, 173-252.

upon the Lotus Sutra. And he preached the manifestation of the Buddha-nature of the individual, that is, the achievement of Buddhahood in this life, and the achievement of a land of peace in this world, that is, the construction of a Buddha land of present-day world peace and harmony.³¹ However, at the same time, he was also very much aware of the confusion in the real world and in the daily lives of human beings, as well as the suffering found there. It was for this reason that he rejected the short-circuit monistic worldview of the Tendai teachings found in the concept that the real world is identical with the Pure Land of Tranquil Light in essence and that Buddhahood is automatically attained by all living beings. In place of these teachings, he taught the achievement of Buddhahood in individual through devotion to the true Dharma, and the achievement of a peaceful land in this world through propagation and many people's believing it, as the twofold goals in future.³² He went further to take the Position that governmental authority is only for the purpose of assisting the realization of these purposes. He insisted that governmental authority must be obedient to Buddhism.³³ This is an important characteristics of Nichiren's teaching among other Japanese Buddhism.

Here we find that Nichiren's Buddhist concepts contain a sharp distinction between ideals and reality, this-worldliness

³¹ The main thesis in which his idea of this kind are expressed is "Risshō Ankoku-ron", *Nichiren Daishōnin Goshō Zenshū* (, *op. cit.*, 17-35. It is also compiled in English Edition. *The Major Writings of Nichiren Daishōnin*, Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Nichiren Shōshū International Center, 1981), 3-15. See also, Brian Bocking, "Reflections on Sōka Gakkai", in *The Scottish Journal of Religious Studies*, 2.1 (1981): 45-47, and Hiroo Satō, "Shoki Nichiren no Kokkakan (Nichiren's View of the State in His Early Period)", in *Nihon Shisō-shi Kenkyū*, 10 (1978): 21. *Ibid.*, "Nichiren no Kōki no Shisō (Nichiren's Thought in His Later Period)", *Nihon Shisō shigaku*, 9 (1977): 51ff.

³² Hiroo Satō, "Nichiren niokeru Risshō Ankoku to Ryōzen Jōdo (Risshō Ankoku and Ryōzen Jōdo in Nichiren)", in *Tōhoku Daigaku Nihon Bunka Kenkyūsho Kenkyūhōkoku*, 15 (1979): 29.

³³ Satō, 1978, *op. cit.*, 22-24. Bocking also asserts that Nichiren's Buddhist doctrine has been described as "nationalistic" but in fact is no more so than the doctrines of other Japanese Buddhist sects. See Bocking, *op. cit.*, 45.

attitude toward bringing to reality a Buddha Land in this world as well as the strong orientation toward relativization of all present order and authorities in this world and their reconstruction.³⁴ These ideals were reactivated particularly in the ideals of education as the medium for social reconstruction of the first President Makiguchi and through the experience of the suppression he suffered during the war.

4. Conclusion

The above is an overview of the commitment of Japanese Buddhism to peace and/or war in the modern history of Japan. It is also a preliminary work for further analysis and consideration. In conclusion, the contents of the above are summarized as follows. The Japanese Buddhism before and during the War could not resist the carrying out of national policy and could not function as the ideological base for opposition against the War. It was partly due to the fact that the Japanese Buddhism was taken over by a trend of overwhelming nationalism and the power of the State which were eager for the immediate construction of the modern nation state after the Meiji Restoration. And it was partly due to the fact that Japanese Buddhism lost or could not form the ideological quality and vision that could resist the trend of the times and the political power, or that could relativize them.

Reflecting on the powerlessness in the past, a peace movement emerged on the basis of the Religions League of Japan after the War. Buddhist groups played an important role in the development of the movement. Later, the peace movement of the WCRP committee of Japan was developed from it. The principal purpose of this movement is to enlighten a desire for peace based on the religious conscience of individuals and to unite them. This movement is promoted as the counterpart to the movement for the expansion of Ecumenical religious corporations in strategy. Less and less emphasis has

³⁴ Satō, 1977, *op. cit.*, 52, 54. *Idem*, 1979, *op. cit.*, 29.

been placed on the originality of Buddhist thoughts as an ideological principle of the movement, and gradually it is inclined to blend with the religious thoughts in general.

On the other hand, the organizational basis of this movement is the unified league of various kinds of religions in Japan. In a sense at least in Japan, this unified organization is a kind of inheritance from the Three Religion Amalgamation of 1912. It was established under the direct and/or indirect guidance of the government. Thus it was not necessarily born out of the integration of severe and sincere mutual criticisms of the original religious thoughts and essences of each religion. It seems to me that this unified organization follows the syncretic religious tradition in Japan and in this quality there exists a fragility of this movement to be a active force for peace and for resistance against war.

Another representative peace movement developed by religious body after the War is that of Sōka Gakkai. What is emphasized in the movement is that the ideological basis of this movement is the pacifism immanent in Buddhist thought. Furthermore it seems to me that an important characteristic of their Buddhism is to lay stress on the superiority of religious authority over the secular authority of the State. In this sense, it takes an opposite stand against the ideological stand of the established Buddhism in Japan which insists upon the interdependence of Buddhism and political authority, or the obedience of Buddhism to the State government.

A sociological feature of the religious movement of Sōka Gakkai, including their activities for peace, is that they are trying to construct an alternative religious and cultural world ruled by Buddhist ideals and also an alternative social structure based on Buddhist social philosophy. In addition, they are trying to form a cultural, social and political peace-structure within Japanese society and on the international level through making efforts to penetrate and reflect pacifistic Buddhist thought upon other secular spheres.

In these movements of Sōka Gakkai are included some problems which need to be overcome, such as determining the kind of relationship and the way of cooperation with other religious peace movements which are to be established. However, I find in the ideals and activities of Sōka Gakkai significant characteristics which have been rare among Japanese religions including Buddhism. That is a development of the teachings of Buddhism toward this-worldliness, a realistic change of the present world and going beyond Japanese nationalism. As Max Weber said in his analysis of Buddhism, it is usually described as having characteristic of renunciation of this world and having the idea of withdrawal from it. And it is often said that the lack of social philosophy is the beauty of Buddhism. But I feel that these characteristics of Buddhism functioned as an ideological basis which permitted apathy for, retreatism from and irresponsibility for social and political problems, and which permitted the affirmation and maintenance of the status quo. In this sense, the Buddhist social philosophy of Sōka Gakkai might suggest a significant ideological element that is necessary to revitalize the Buddhist thought in contemporary society.

BUDDHISM AND LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE¹

Johan Galtung

The theme of our conference has been, “Buddhism and leadership for peace”. What does that mean, “leadership”? It means, to be quite explicit, the exercise of power, in other words politics. It means facing the challenges of our times, charting courses of action towards a better future, indicating not only why to proceed in that direction, but also what to do and how to do it, possibly by whom, when and where. Leadership means having a strategy, trying to implement it.

To reduce the analysis of leadership to analysis of power is not correct because it disregards the personalities and the circumstantial factors surrounding the leader. But an analysis of power is an indispensable ingredient in any leadership analysis. There are three types of basic power: normative power or the power of ideas exercised in the realm of culture, exchange power or the power of the carrot exercised in the realm of the economy, and coercive power or the power of the stick exercised in the realm of the military/police. Politics,

¹ Concluding speech, “Buddhism and leadership for peace” Conference, Tokyo, December 1984.

then, is power over power, the power to decide what kind of power to use.

And at that point Buddhists have made a basic choice. The rule of *Ahi-sā*, non-violence, serves as a command to reduce the exercise of coercive power down to the bare minimum, if possible to zero - if that is meaningful at all. This means that Buddhist leaders in concrete practice, and that is what we are discussing here, will have to rely on the power of ideas and the power of exchange. The power of ideas, that is Buddhist spirituality, possibly the best-developed in the world, an incredible richness of psycho-spiritual insight, an epic of the struggle of individuals joined together in a system of mutual support for human betterment. And the power of exchange, that is the study of Buddhist efforts by and large to create decent economic structures for social betterment, a setting within which the pursuit of human fulfillment can take place. There are ugly exceptions: there are patterns of feudal exploitation where the northern Buddhism in Tibet and Mongolia in some periods in their long history comes to mind; there are other examples.

What this means is that for the exercise of Buddhist leadership towards peace a theory of economic relations is indispensable. Not a Catholic Christian, Fritz Schumacher, should have written that famous essay on Buddhism and economics; hundreds, thousands, millions of Buddhists should have done so. And yet it is difficult in Buddhist literature to find thoughts with direct relevance to modern times expressed in such a compelling manner. Buddhism is at its strongest when dealing with nature and human spaces, not with the social space, not with the world space.

And in a sense this is reflected in our conference. In a sense our conference has been a report of how Buddhism failed, in Sri Lanka, in Korea, in Thailand, in Japan. It has not been able to stem ethnic violence, not been able to oppose military dictatorships, not been able to overthrow feudal or blatantly exploitative capitalistic relationships, not been able to prevent the Pacific war. To the contrary, Buddhists very often seem to

have found their place in the power structure although perhaps not so much as Buddhists, as citizens carried by a wave of national or class interests. And in a country like the United States, Buddhism is an extremely fragile element in the famous melting pot where - by the way - this melting is now taking place less than ever before because the components want to retain their, identity, and the word “pot” has taken on another connotation.

But the impression is not altogether negative. There is the continuation of Buddhism as Gandhism, the highly explicit doctrine and practice, based on spirituality and equitable relationships at the micro and macro levels. From India we hear about Gandhism as a factor still alive, opposing the politics of technocracy, of materialistic individualism or consumerism instead of spirituality, an economy geared to growth instead of satisfaction of basic human needs and steered by the trinity of bureaucratic, corporate and intelligentsia forces, and an ever-growing military/police institution aggressing on external and internal “enemies” of the regime, always in the name of “security”. From Indonesia we hear similar signals, although at a more modest level, among other reasons, because Indonesia is not a Hindu or Buddhist country, but a Muslim country except for some particular areas such as Bali.

And then there is another type of success story: Buddhism as a transnational organization. From Mongolia we hear about successful efforts to build networks of Buddhists for peace, non-governmental networks that can exercise their insolence at the national level, inspired and reinforced by each other.

There were still two more contributions to our conference, one, from Japan, exploring leadership with no mention of Buddhism and peace, and another one by a transnational Norwegian, exploring Buddhism and peace with no mention of leadership. They both escaped the topic of our conference and

the agonizing difficulty of bringing the three things together, not only one or two of them.²

However, it may very well be that the most important contributions to Buddhist leadership for peace have not been explored in the conference papers, and only to some extent in the debates: I am thinking of Sōka Gakkai under the leadership of its president, Daisaku Ikeda, and the movement in Sri Lanka under the leadership of Ariyaratne. They both reject the very classical Buddhist model, withdrawal under the sign of the triple gem into the saṃgha, at best on the periphery of society, at worst totally marginalized. Perhaps one could say that Ikeda's approach is to penetrate Japanese society at all three points: increased spirituality, better, more meaningful, more human economic relations and in the work for peace through disarmament. Ariyaratne's approach is more ambitious: not to penetrate existing society as much as to build an alternative society on a scale large enough to attract attention and to serve as a realistic model.

If we add to this the third model, transnational organization as it has been developed in our conference, the total situation is not that bad. And in that connection a rather major name using transnational action as a medium for the exercise of Buddhist leadership for peace would be U Thant, the Burmese Buddhist secretary general of the United Nations, although it certainly may be disputed how much he was able to achieve. Just as one might dispute how much Gandhi was able to achieve being assassinated by an orthodox (and not, at all fanatic) Hindu, Godse, a carrier of spirituality as he saw it, of the highly inequitable economic relations embedded in the caste system, not to mention the cult of violence to achieve political ends, through the military, the police, and ultimately political murder.

But such is life; such is politics. It is an uphill fight. And in this uphill fight, one possible source of a new momentum would

² The conference also heard reports about Buddhism in China and in the Soviet Union, but with no explicit reference either to peace or to leadership, only that Buddhism was surviving.

be the synergistic workings of Buddhism as an interminable source of insight, peace as a goal, and leadership as a means.

TOWARD NON-KILLING SOCIETY

Hiroharu Seki

In the process of our dialogue and multilogue, Buddhism in different countries has been clearly manifested as varieties of beautiful flowers. Those different flowers seem to be cultivated on the different soil in the different social and cultural environment for which different nation-state are respectively responsible. For example, Korean Buddhism seems to have, as far as I hear Korean report, the some similar type of characteristics of Buddhism in the pre-war Japan, Characteristics of the prewar Japanese Buddhism is still illustrated by Mr. Nakasone's decision style. Mr. Nakasone sometimes goes to Zen-Buddhist temple and, after clearing his mind, he is expected to do significant decision not only for Japan, but also for global future. Thus, under Mr. Nakasone's leadership the study of Buddhism has become suddenly significant not only for the study of Buddhist leadership but also for the study of peace building in the global future.

It is a very clear fact that leadership for peace world be realized only based on the existence of the political will of leaders for peace building. One of the most recent counter example was Ronald Reagan's first term Presidency. Mr. Reagan, at first, had not any political will for peace building but rather had a political will to accelerate a military build-up against

Soviet global challenge. Deteriorating serious international tension was his first priority of choice of American global policy. As a result, Mr. Nakasone also accepted Mr. Reagan's demand of further military build-up of Japan in the sense that he wished to transform Japan into so-called 'unsinkable aircraft' as far as his formal political expression and his attitudes towards Japan's security is concerned. It was undesirably contradictory with the post-war political will of Japanese nation-state, as illustrated in the peace constitution of Japan.

Thus so-called Ron-Yasu relations, still not found in any English dictionary, were forced to form the new line of the US-Japan cooperation for further military build-up against Soviet Union and for their joint effort of NATO-ization of the US-Japan security pact. However, European centered antinuclear movements influenced such international political scene. Catholic Bishop's pastoral letters issued in May 1983 manifestly influenced the US nuclear strategy which already emphasized importance of prevailing in nuclear war. Defense Secretary Weinberger was forced to agree with the Catholic Bishop's Pastoral Letter in his special mentioning on his will that the US does not want nuclear war and the US military build-up has the manifest purpose of forcing the USSR to accept nuclear disarmaments.

It is ironic that Mr. Nakasone also changed his previous expression on Japanese security by emphasizing the necessity of disarmament and of relaxing the tension between the USSR and Japan.

Immediately after Mr. Nakasone was successful to continue his second term of premiership, Mr. Reagan personally called on Mr. Nakasone to tell, him that the year 1985 would become the year of peace and disarmament.

It is not strange that new Ron-Yasu relations were expressed by the delicate change of the political discourse between them. Of course, it might be the superficial change because Mr. Nakasone was, for a long time, notorious to have been called as "Kazamidori" and Mr. Reagan was also called as a

“political Chameleon”. But, we should not forget that such change of expressions in the Ron-Yasu relations was created by the new political atmosphere in which fear of nuclear arms race, fear of nuclear threat, and also fear of nuclear annihilation step by step increased. Is the new Ron-Yasu relations, which emphasize peace and disarmament, truly assured as the proof of the existence of their necessary conditions of political will for disarmament? Such a question could be seriously raised at first as an issue of human survival in this global transformation process. Of course, this question might be answered in the positive way of peace. However the next question would be also raised around whether their leadership for disarmament and for peace could be realized on the condition that adequate economic basis would not still exist. The answer is that without adequate economic basis, their political will would be faced with serious difficulty for overcoming tough structural obstacles. The latter should be removed only by a creative political leadership. However structural obstacles deeply rooted in the society itself could not be easily removed. Some people believe that Mr. Reagan himself could surely behave like Mr. Nixon, who not only developed detente with the USSR but also made a marvelously successful visit to China. But, in case of Nixon’s global policy, the US was trying to curtail military strategic posture in Asia and the Pacific region as the result of the American retreat from Vietnam. Contrasted with Mr. Nixon, Mr. Reagan started new military build-up, severely competing with the USSR and consolidated the structural momentum for domestic arms production. In terms of the US-Japan relations, new possibilities for Japan’s role in transforming the US-Japan joint policy toward Asia and the Pacific into global peace building policy seem to have emerged. In the context of gaps and contradictions between Mr. Nakasone’s intention and Mr. Reagan’s purpose in Ron-Yasu relations, characteristics of the Japanese economy interacting with the American economy seems to have been very significant. Irreversible trends of Japanese capital investment into the various US states are transforming American economy into the new developmental

stage in which the US South and the US West are taking the central roles of structural transformation of the total economy of the US into the cooperative new direction with Japan, which is taking future-oriented leadership for economic development in Asia and the Pacific. However, would it surely contribute to the demilitarization of Asia and the Pacific? The question is still not answered. Quite recently, American business schools have become enthusiastic for setting foreign language course to teach Japanese language. The impetus for this new trend may be Japan's success in applying American ways of thinking as well as American ways of technology. This activity has been conducted without any financial broaden to Japan. In fact, Japan has been successful in exporting manufactured goods for which high value was added by her imported technology. They further thought the Japanese have utilized the above based one-direction cycle movements for capital accumulation within Japanese enterprises.

After the globalization of the Japanese economy, one direction of cyclical movements such as these were faced with serious difficulty. Without this global cycle reversed, the next stage of the marginal development process could never be started. Initiating alternative global transformation process independent of this cycle would also not be realized.

One of the next marginal factors for the global transformation and global development would surely be the intellectual factors. It should be possible to initiate an entirely new interdependence networks between universities and think tanks among the various parts of the world. Another of marginal factors for global transformation and global development is entirely creative leadership capability of solving regional conflicts in Asia and the Pacific region. The most illustrative case around Japan is the case of Korean conflict between South and North Korea.

Buddhist leadership for peace is really faced with the problematic of conflict resolution in Korea. This is to seek alternative creative choices for unification of Korea because such alternatives are still not devised or initiated even by Ron-

Yasu relations. Realization of global transformation and global development with in the contemporary war oriented society is very difficult without the target for creation of nonviolent and non-killing society. Sōka Gakkai is surely taking a fresh leadership role as a Buddhist intellectual organization for helping this international seminar on “Buddhism and Leadership for Peace”. Only this kind of open activity of Sōka Gakkai could surely contribute to alternative creation of the peace and just world order formation different from the contemporary world structure in which threat of nuclear war would be step by step imminent.

INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET PEACE SUPPORTERS

V. Hlynov

Soviet peace supporters are most active in different international meetings and forums of peace forces. Worthy of note among them are, first and foremost, the Second World Conference-Dialogue for Disarmament and Detente (Vienna, November 14-17, 1983); the Conference of National Peace Organizations and Movements of Europe, the USA and Canada for a Denuclearized Europe (Athens, February 6-9, 1984); the International Conference-Dialogue "The United Nations and Peace-loving Public: Ways of Strengthening Cooperation" (Geneva, September 10-12, 1984); and the Conference of Anti-War Movements of Europe and North America (Helsinki, October 5-7, 1984).

In addition to these international events Soviet peace supporters have taken part in dozens of other actions organized by our partners abroad. During such meetings direct contacts between people are of the utmost importance for improving mutual understanding, destroying the "enemy image" created by irresponsible actions of certain politicians and mass media in the West, and for developing joint or parallel actions for peace and disarmament.

Possibilities for such broad contacts were used, for example, during the youth and trade union cruises around Europe, which took place in October 1983 and September 1984 respectively. A big delegation of Soviet peace fighters together with representatives of the anti-war movements of Austria, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Poland and Czechoslovakia took part in a mass manifestation (50,000 people) in Znoimo (Czechoslovakia). The Peace Days of North Kalott were observed for the eighth time now in Luleo (Sweden) on June 15-17. These meetings of the public from the regions beyond the polar circle of Finland, Sweden, Norway, and our country are held every three years. The Soviet participants of this peace holiday beyond the polar circle supported the demand of their foreign friends to establish a nuclear-free zone in North Europe.

Soviet non-governmental organizations have received in the USSR a great number of delegations and different groups of peace supporters from abroad. The Soviet Peace Committee alone has received more than 100 and sent over 80 delegations of peace fighters. Among these were two big groups of American who traveled in our country within the framework of the "Volga Peace Cruise" on June 29-July 9 and July 25-August 8. They participated in discussions and anti-war rallies, and met activists of the Soviet peace movement in Moscow, Ulyanovsk, Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd and Kazan. In the last three years Soviet-American "peace cruises" along the Volga River have become traditional and are very popular with Americans who participate in the peace movement. Scores of international events, which were attended by peace supporters from abroad, have also taken place in the USSR. Here are but a few examples.

The International Trade Union Conference "Trade Unions in the Struggle for the Vital Interests of the Working People, against the Threat of New War" took place in Moscow in early May. It was attended by trade unionists from the USSR and 111 countries, and representatives of five international organizations.

Representatives of youth organizations of the USSR, Poland, the GDR, Finland, the FRG, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland took part in the Third Youth Conference of the Baltic Sea countries. During the conference that took place in Yurmala (USSR) in May they discussed possibilities for joint actions with a view to preventing nuclear war and establishing a nuclear-free zone in North Europe.

The International Scientific Conference "Ideas of Peace and Problems of European Security: History and Contemporaneity" was convened in Moscow in early June by the Institute of General History under the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Together with Soviet scientists the conference was attended by scientists of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, England, Greece, the FRG, Finland and Sweden.

The participants who represented East and West Europe considered European security problems from different positions but they came to a unanimous conclusion that it is necessary to explain hot pernicious the consequences of war with the use of nuclear weapons would be and what tremendous possibilities exist for the progress of mankind in conditions of peace. The appeal adopted at the Conference stresses, among other things, a special responsibility for maintaining peace which the scientists of the planet bear today.

The Second information meeting-dialogue of representatives of movements and organizations for disarmament and peace from West Europe and North America which took place in Moscow on June 23-24 at the initiative of the Soviet Peace Committee was especially useful for establishing and consolidating the mutual understanding of peace supporters of different countries. It was attended by about 100 political and public figures from 20 countries.

The participants in this meeting included parliamentarians, members of the leadership of different political parties, scientists, representatives of religious, youth and women's organizations, professional associations opposing the threat of nuclear war. Outstanding political figures and scientists of our country

informed them about the stand taken by the USSR and Soviet non-governmental organizations on the most important problems of struggle for an end to the arms race. The representatives of anti-war movements were acquainted with the forms and methods of activities of the Soviet peace movement, and mass anti-war actions in the USSR. There was a useful exchange of opinions during the meeting.

Preparations have been launched now in our country for the next All-Union Conference of Peace Supporters, the most important forum and the highest leading body of the Soviet peace movement. The Conference will take place next January (1984) but already now delegates to the Conference are being elected and the tasks of our future work are being discussed at city, regional and republican committees, and in collective work-groups. During these discussions their participants stress the importance of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War and the 40th anniversary of the United Nations. Many events and mass actions will be devoted to both anniversaries.

The XII World Festival of Youth and -Students due to be held in Moscow in July-August 1985 will be also an important event for the Soviet peace supporters. We are confident that the Festival will become a big action of the World Disarmament Campaign and the International Youth Year, and will promote cooperation between youth organizations of different countries and the United Nations system.

Soviet non-governmental organizations attach great attention to preparations for the International Year of Peace. Already now many actions of the World Disarmament Campaign lay a special emphasis on the International Year of Peace. Specific proposals and recommendations are being elaborated in connection with the International Year of Peace. Undoubtedly, this theme will be also one of the main at the All-Union Conference of Peace Supporters in January 1985.

Soviet non-governmental organizations regard their participation in the World Disarmament Campaign as an opportunity to speak in support of the activities of the United

Nations aimed at achieving world peace and preventing wars on the earth. By joint or parallel actions with anti-war movements of different countries they are determined to do all possible to avert the nuclear war threat and safeguard peace on our planet.

PEACE EDUCATION IN THE USSR

V. Baykov

Mass anti-war actions in the USSR are marked by a great diversity. Apart from rallies and manifestations peace marches and cruises, concerts and exhibitions, labor and educational events have become widespread. All of them are directed, first and foremost, at implementing the primary aims of the World Disarmament Campaign: to inform, to educate and to generate public understanding and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. This has been also the theme of numerous publications, and tens of thousands of lectures and speeches delivered to the population. Since the proclamation of the World Disarmament Campaign more than 120 books and pamphlets dealing with problems of the struggle for peace have been published in the USSR, while journal and newspaper publications total tens of thousands.

Among the most interesting publications a series of contributions made by the Soviet Peace Committee with the assistance of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Scientific Research Council for Peace and Disarmament can be mentioned, for example, a collection by outstanding scientists "Important Problems of International Security and Disarmament". A

number of publications have been made by the Soviet Committee "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War". Among these publications is the book "Nuclear War: Medico-Biological Consequences" by E. I. Chazov, L. A. Ilyin and A. K. Guskova. Problems of war and peace, and the tasks and progress of the World Disarmament Campaign are dealt with by our Committee's bulletin "XX Century and Peace" and other publications of Soviet nongovernmental organizations.

The Soviet Peace Committee has issued in large numbers a badge and a poster devoted to the World Disarmament Campaign. Both of them are being widely used for information purposes. Work is also in progress on a full-length documentary film about the World Disarmament Campaign. The film is to be completed in the next year.

Many actions by peace committees in different regions of our country also facilitate the spread of information about the World Disarmament Campaign and problems of peace and disarmament. Among these are the so called "peace train" which passed through the entire European territory of the USSR, "peace cruises" by M/S Dmitry Karbyshev along the Ob river (August 1984) and by M/S Vasily Poyarkov along the Amur River (August-September 1984), and scores of peace motor runs last spring and summer in the course of which conversations and discussions were held and information materials were spread. This has contributed to the Soviet people's better knowledge of the aims, tasks and progress of the World Disarmament Campaign.

Peace education is the most important element of the World Disarmament Campaign and United Nations activities as a whole. Soviet non-governmental organizations pay great attention to this problem. The most graphic confirmation of this is so called Peace Lesson which was conducted on September 1, 1984, the first day of the academic year. As is known, this Lesson has been already conducted for the second time by the Soviet Peace Committee jointly with the USSR Ministry of Public Education and youth organizations of our country in more than 130,000 general

educational schools and many vocational training centers. The Lesson has been attended by over 45 million pupils.

The Peace Lesson has become an important event not only for schoolchildren but also for hundreds of thousands of representatives of non-governmental organizations, Soviet peace supporters, who together with teachers participated in conducting these lessons. They wanted to share with children their devotion to the ideals of peace and their readiness to do all to bar the way to war and stop the arms race.

As in the past year, during the Peace Lesson the pupils wrote compositions to the -themes "What shall I do when I grow up for the defense of peace", "How do I imagine life in the XXI century", "What would I like to say to my American coeval" and the like. They drew anti-war posters and drawings devoted to the struggle for peace.

Notwithstanding its scope and significance the Peace Lesson on September 1 is an important action but it takes place only once a year. The education of children for peace is carried out on a permanent basis in our country. Thus, many competitions for the best anti-war drawings and compositions among children which are organized at the level of individual schools, cities and entire republics promote the peace education of the rising generation. Last spring the Soviet Peace Committee jointly with the USSR Ministry of Public Education and the editorial board of the "Pionerskaya Pravda" (Pioneers' Newspaper) held a competition for the best drawing and composition "How do I see the world of the XXI century", "What should I do to help establish world peace". Among the participants in the competition were schoolchildren from Moscow and Leningrad, from the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Georgian, Azerbaijan, Moldavian, Tajik, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Turkmen Republics. Children themselves from among the clubs of international friendship of the Palaces of Young Pioneers and Schoolchildren selected the best drawings and compositions. In the final round of the competition 405 drawings and 346 compositions were under consideration. Sixteen compositions and 129 drawings were recognized to be the best.

Part of them was sent to San Francisco (USA) to the international competition sponsored by the US organization "Round Table Fund - Children as Teachers of Peace". A special prize of the competition was awarded to Lyuba Antoshchuk, a schoolgirl from Zhitomir in the Ukraine. The prize was presented to her on August 22 during the meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee leadership with Soviet Young Pioneers, which was devoted to the participation of schoolchildren in the nationwide struggle of the Soviet people for peace, against the nuclear war threat.

Peace education of the rising generation is being carried on. Soviet non-governmental organizations take efforts to continue to develop these aspects in curricula where they are represented on a sufficiently large scale and to be more active in conducting both peace lessons outside the usual curriculum and other events. In particular, the Soviet Peace Committee, the USSR Ministry of Public Education and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League have started an All-Union review of schoolchildren's compositions to the theme "I Vote for Peace!" devoted to the 40th anniversary of the end of the war and the 40th anniversary of the United Nations and the XII World Festival of Youth and Students which is to be held in Moscow on July 27-August 3, 1985.

The educational, information and all other activities of Soviet non-governmental organizations are closely related to the aim of the World Disarmament Campaign which has been embodied in corresponding resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly. This is to generate public understanding - and support for the objectives of the United Nations in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. The Soviet people hold their mass and other anti-war actions under the slogans which reflect the United Nations initiatives and decisions. Among these slogans are the following:

- Freeze nuclear arsenals!
- No to nuclear weapons in Europe, West or East!
- No to nuclear weapons anywhere in the world!
- For general and complete disarmament!

- The obligation of the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is an example for all nuclear powers!
- Nuclear war is a crime against humanity!
- Stop all nuclear weapon tests!

These and many other slogans, and numerous decisions of different rallies and meetings testify to the Soviet people's support for the United Nations efforts to ensure universal peace and the security of all countries and peoples.

The progress of the 39th session of the General Assembly and the problems discussed at it are in the center of attention of the Soviet peace fighters. During the mass actions that have been actively developing in the USSR, demands are voiced quite clearly to use outer space exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the benefit of mankind. Soviet public opinion calls upon the international community to recognize the inadmissibility of the policy of state terrorism and any actions of states aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign states.

The Soviet peace supporters believe that due to the actions of all peace forces and also in large measure thanks to the United Nations activities a sort of consensus has taken shape now in the world on the ways of ensuring universal peace. In our view the chief elements of this common platform are:

- a freeze on nuclear arsenals;
- not to be the first to use nuclear weapons;
- establishment of nuclear-free zones in different regions of Europe;
- full deliverance of Europe from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical ones;
- full cessation of all nuclear weapon tests;
- prohibition of chemical weapon and destruction of their stocks;
- prevention of the miniaturization of outer space;
- limitation and reduction of conventional armaments.

THE POSITION OF JAPAN IN THE PACIFIC ERA

Tadashige Takamura

1. Introduction

Recently we have often been hearing such expressions as the opening of the 'Asian Pacific Era,' 'the twenty-first century will be the Century of the Pacific,' and so on. We could say that one of the reasons for the inauguration of the Pacific Era may be attributed to Japan. One reason for my saying this is that Japan's economical growth and progress in the technological sciences has stimulated economic activities and trade between the countries in the Pacific area. Another may be that Japan has, for the past twenty years, been promoting the idea of cooperation among nations in the Pacific Basin. As a matter of fact, the first concrete and systematic proposals on Pacific Basin Cooperation were put forth in the "Report on the Pacific Basin Cooperation Concept" (May 19, 1980) and announced by the then Japanese Prime Minister Ohira, who has since passed on.¹

Since Japan is one of the inaugurators of this Pacific Basin Cooperation Concept, and supposedly one of the driving forces behind it, Japan also has an obligation to take responsibility in

¹ The Pacific Basin Cooperation Study Group, *Report on the Pacific Basin Cooperation Concept*, May 19, 1980.

ensuring the further, stable progress of economic cooperation in the region. Fulfilling such a responsibility will often entail the discarding self-interested pursuits and making sacrifices for the good of the whole.

If Japan, presently the economic and technological giant in the region, exerts herself in contributing to and actively supporting political stability and economic growth in collaboration with the other countries concerned, I am certain that it will be possible to achieve overall stability and prosperity in the Pacific Basin. If successful, the results of this Pacific Basin Cooperation Concept will have a far-reaching, positive effect on more than just Asia and the Pacific. I believe that the "Asia-Pacific Area" is not merely a regional matter, but rather that it could provide hints to solving conjunctive problems on a worldwide scale, thereby paving the way to opening a "New Global Era."

2. Problems facing the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept

When contemplating the problems facing our World today, there are two things which we must keep in mind before attempting to draw any conclusions; one is the growing threat of nuclear war, the other is the undeniable necessity of mutual cooperation.² It would be useless for us to make future plans or take any action without first putting these two into their proper perspective in relation to any problem currently under deliberation.

The Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept and all actions implemented in order to further political, economic and cultural stability in the region must, consequently, also be examined with due consideration given to these two factors.

Naturally, there are quite a few pros and cons about the Asia-Pacific Concept. Negative attitudes towards this concept can be divided into two basic categories, one being strategic,

² Joyce E. Larson, ed., *New Foundations for Asian and Pacific Security* (New Brunswick & London: National Strategy Information Center, 1980).

and the other based on doubts about the feasibility of such a concept due to the negative influence exerted by certain anxieties concerning the national interests of each country.

As far as the first category is concerned, one question seems to be whether the military alliances such as NATO and SEATO are actually intended to be constructive or not. This doubt arises from the opinion that the cooperation concept is nothing more than a means toward the end of the western policy of 'containment' as exercised toward the Soviet block or a means of maintaining some sort of military balance. In short, what this boils down to is that many, both on the Western and the Soviet side, fear that this sort of cooperation is part of a U.S.-Japanese military alliance with the purpose of the encirclement of the Soviet Union.

Another doubt cast upon the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept is the notion that this concept is a plan aimed at forming a closed economic block; this is a misgiving which the Western European countries, eager to successfully rebuilt their economies, seem to entertain.

A third suspicion is that the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept is a contrivance by means of which larger, more powerful countries can dominate smaller, less powerful ones. This is a concern felt strongly by the countries in the Asia-Pacific region itself, especially the ASEAN countries and the small island nations in the Pacific Basin. To them, such a cooperation concept appears as a measure by which the larger countries within the region, namely Australia, Canada, Japan and the United States, might seek to satisfy their own national interests at the sacrifice of those of the smaller countries.

One reason these suspicions remain is negligence on the part of the promoters of the cooperation concept to sufficiently explain to these smaller countries what they have to gain from it. Another is the fear that regional integration will be detrimental to the national identity of each country, which runs contrary to their efforts at present to establish exactly that, a strong national identity. What this means is that the promoters of cooperation must work to eliminate both the real

danger and the fear that smaller countries stand to lose their national integrity through participation in regional integration schemes.

The second category involves skepticism as to whether cooperative relationships among various countries are possible in view of the variety and complex differences in races, religions, languages, habits and customs, and stages of economic development, not to mention the influence of East-West confrontation and North-South problems. Considering all the problems and how they are all intricately intertwined, it may even be said that the Asia-Pacific region reflects the problems facing the rest of the world in miniature.

Another opinion belonging to the second category has it that economic growth and increases in trade within the region are to be attributed to natural evolution, and that active measures should not be taken to further cooperative relationships lest these actions should result in an unfavorable turn, causing the present favorable conditions to degenerate. After all, the development of the region is dependent, not on any sole grand design for the region, but on many factors including the economic growth of Japan, the shift of the economic structure from the east to the west in the United States, the development of ASEAN, the rising of NICS, and the opening of China's economy.

Therefore, due to the points raised in the previously mentioned opinions, the Asia-Pacific Cooperative Concept finds itself facing a multitude of problems. Although it holds the potential for the tabling of a number of hopes, ideas, and opinions, some of these collide head on with one another so that, at the present stage, there is no concrete design as to how the concept should be implemented.

3. Japan's Attitude towards the Concept of Asia-Pacific Cooperation

What is the response of Japan's decision makers to these misgivings about the regional cooperation at present?

First, in response to the notion that regional cooperation is a means for forming a military alliance, Prime Minister Nakasone announced the so-called “Nakasone Doctrine on Pacific Cooperation” in November 1984.³ In it he stressed the development of cooperation in non-military areas, in other words along lines of economic cooperation, cultural exchange, education, and vocational and technical training programs. He also advocated that it would be better to use existing civil organizations for furthering the concept of cooperation. In addition, he was able to gain the support of the American and Australian governments on this matter. He seems to have made his decision based on advice received from the Pacific Basin Economic Council (PBEC), a Japanese businessmen’s organization which reported to him on December 24, 1984. The PBEC found recommended that Pacific Basin Cooperation should be promoted with civil bodies taking the lead, while the government should only play a supportive role. Through the emphasis of non-military and non-political intentions and allowing civil organizations take the initiative in cooperation-promoting activities, the leaders of Japan are attempting to calm fears that implementation of the -cooperation concept would lead to a military alliance.

The “Nakasone Doctrine” was also to serve as a response to suspicions that a cooperative system in the Asia-Pacific region would create an exclusive economic block and thus constituting a form of seclusion into closed regionalism, by asserting that such a cooperative body should be open and non-exclusive. As the Japanese government sees it, the establishment of a cooperative organization in the Asia-Pacific region should not aim at the binding of the region’s countries in a closed regional organization, but rather provide opportunities for deeper and widened economic ties and cooperation between Asia-Pacific area countries and Atlantic-area countries.

Trepidation that an Asia-Pacific Cooperative would built an exclusive economic block is a misconception mainly held by the

³ *Mainichi Shinbun*, January 11, 1985.

Western European countries. To these countries, Nakasone replied in a lecture given at the London Strategic Study Institute in June of 1984 by saying,

The idea of the cooperative system should not be perceived from the point of an alternative view of the Pacific or the Atlantic. It is true that the development of the Pacific Region, including Japan and the United States, will be connected with the whole profit of the Western European countries and it can not be realized without the cooperation and mutual dependence of the West.⁴

Regarding the third problem of the first category, Japan has paid most careful attention to avoid the suspicion that the formation of a new regional body could become a means for the larger countries, especially Japan and the United States, to dominate or even integrate the smaller countries of the area. Japan's former Foreign Minister Miki stated as early as 1967 that a new organization should not be a "club of the rich," and the late Prime Minister Ohira hoped that ASEAN and Australia would take the lead with Japan and the United States keeping a low profile in a supportive role. Prime Minister Nakasone, in the beginning of his 'Doctrine,' stressed the need to respect the initiatives taken by Oceania and the ASEAN countries. This point was also reconfirmed at a top level conference between the United States and Japan at the beginning of 1985. Both countries also agreed on the following:

- (1) ASEAN's Expanded Ministerial Conferences, in which the six ASEAN countries plus Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the U.S.A. participate, should be used as a place for inter-governmental discussion on the matter of, and the problems facing, an Asia-Pacific Cooperation body.

⁴ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, June 12, 1984.

- (2) Japan and the United States would support the activities of the PECC (Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference).

Regressing back to the apprehensions about whether a cooperative body would in fact be open and non-exclusive or not, we would have to wait and see how the organization develops after were founded. Actually, the key to whether an open and non-exclusive organization could be realized and maintained lies largely in how successful the leadership of the ASEAN and other smaller countries turns out to be.

I would like to now move on to the second category of negative attitudes towards the concept of an Asia-Pacific Cooperation organization.

The question of whether or not countries with different socio-cultural infrastructures can form a union of sorts in such a cooperative organization is I think more or less a cognitive problem. What I mean here is, there are some who feel that integration and unification within a cooperative organization will be strengthen by the differences, while there are other who, in contrast, are convinced that the complexity of differences will make harmony impossible. At this point it may be worth noting that Ohira, once said that the establishment of a cooperative relationship between nations with [some sort of common cultural background] would be a major event and an experiment as yet unknown in the history of the world.

Attempts to compare the Pacific Basin Concept with the relatively homogeneous EC are undesirable and perhaps even useless. The Pacific Basic Concept does not aim at the realization of an organization of the same type as the EC but rather a system based on functionalism.

There are also a number of retorts to fears that tampering with the economic-cooperation system as it exists today by establishing a cooperative body would be inviting disaster by interrupting the further natural progress of things as they have thus far.

One of these is that as difficult problems can not be satisfactorily solved by means of bilateral negotiations or negotiations between small groups of nations, it is imperative that preparations be made to provide an opportunity for holding multilateral conferences where all concerned parties can get together to make their positions clear and hammer out agreements which will be beneficial to all.

Another is that, precisely because of the multifarious differences which certainly do exist between the countries of this region, it is absolutely necessary to make ready now for the establishment of a cooperative body for ironing out differences between the interests of each nation before a major problems occur. If the initiate is not taken now at an early date, we may find ourselves facing problems which have developed to an insurmountable magnitude because they initially occurred suddenly during the absence of such an interest-coordinating cooperative body.

In consistency with the aforementioned positions, the Japanese policy makers have adopted policies towards the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept as follows:

- (1) ASEAN's Expanded Ministerial Conference should serve as the central opportunity for holding intergovernmental level discussions, on the Cooperative Concept.
- (2) Governments should support civil organizations; such as PECC's, in their efforts to contribute to cooperation.
- (3) The role of the Japanese government should be limited to talks with the leaders of the United States and Oceania in order to formulate ideas and work out the framework of the cooperative body.
- (4) Policy on the actual work of a cooperative body has it that activities should begin first in fields where few difference-resulting problems are likely to occur, and that these activities should be based on functionalism. As these activities would serve as an initial step, they

serve as stepping-stones to widening and strengthening the cooperative system.

For example, the Japanese PBEC committee at the end of 1984 formulated a proposal for the establishment of a “Pacific Economic Community” and presented it to Prime Minister Nakasone. This proposal recommends projects which aim at establishing: (1), a pan-Pacific information network system, (2), a pan-Pacific cultural exchange organization, (3), a pan-Pacific cooperation fund, and (4), an institute for the development of the oceans.⁵ In response to the proposal’s recommendations, Prime Minister Nakasone at the beginning of 1985 announced at a press conference in Australia that, in reference to the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept, he would like to see a system adopted whereby a quick start could be made to be followed by gradual progress, which he -considers better [than recklessly rapid progress].

Other ASEAN leaders have stated very similar opinions over the past few years. For example, Vice-Prime Minister Mahahir of Malaysia announced that, in spite of differences in ideology and political systems, we had better set about creating a system in fields in which real cooperation is feasible.

That be as it may, it seems to me that the Japanese government presently intends to realize a cooperative system covering a wide range of multifarious fields by moving forward step by step and building it block-by-block. I might also add here that, when establishing a cooperative organization like the one I have been trying to describe, we will have to face the problem of deciding which countries will become members of the organization. The late Prime Minister Ohira once said that, (1), the Soviet Union and China should be permitted to join if they so desired, (2) countries should be free to join or withdraw as they please, and (3), different conditions of membership might be considered for each cooperative body within the whole organization. Ohira also expressed the opinion that such a

⁵ *Yomiuri Shinbun*, December 25, 1984.

cooperative organization should open its membership to all the Pacific countries interested in promoting cooperative relations in the region.⁶

Judging from this, it can be safely said that Ohira's concept is quite open-minded and-flexible. Although the realization of such an organization as he seems to have foreseen it would be ideal and therefore most desirable, in reality it would be quite difficult to put into practice as it is obviously too optimistically idealistic.

4. The Kind of Positive Action Japan should Take

I would like to point out three points which are necessary for Japan to put into practice or bear in mind when promoting the concept of Asia-Pacific Cooperation,

First, concerning the fundamental principle upon which a cooperative body should be based, the Japanese must respect the ideals of equality and justice. Concretely speaking, (1) care should be taken to avoid the misuse of such a cooperative body as a means for the North to control the South; and (2), we must comply with late Prime Minister Ohira's assertion that the cultural identities and political independence of all nations must be observed and respected.

Professor Sakamoto once said that coexistence is a system whereby each country pursues its own interests separately, resulting in weaken mutual relationships with other countries. In contrast, cooperation is a system whereby nations seek common interests and purposes together, with the consequence that mutual relations are strengthened.⁷ We can safely say that it is under cooperative relationships based on the principle of equality that the potentials and the creativity of the member countries can be best developed. The important thing in this case is that when these cooperative organizations are first conceived and established, all the countries in the region

⁶ *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, January 17, 1980.

⁷ Yoshikazu Sakamoto, *Heiwa sono Genjitsu to Ninshiki* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1976), 184.

concerned should be able to participate in the planning and construction of the organization; a cooperative organization of this sort conceived and implemented by a single nation and imposed on its neighbors would lead to disaster. It is poignantly worth recalling at this point that Japan put forward in the 1940's the concept of the 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere,' conceived and put into practice by only one country, and what that led to. I'm sure my point is clear, namely, that such an organization should be a collaborative project.

Second, if Japan's decision makers want to use this cooperative organization as a means for contributing to the stability of international society as a whole, they must discard the negative attitude they have in which they maintain that this organization should not handle any political or military problems. They should alter this attitude, and adopt a more positive one, perhaps by proposing that the Asia-Pacific region be made a non-nuclear zone, or something similar.

Needless to say, two major trends can be observed in the region in recent times: one is the rise of the threat of nuclear war, the other, a movement towards the establishment of a nuclear-free zone.⁸ As for the latter, there is a nuclear-free zone in South and Middle America, and Japan has three non-nuclear principles. ASEAN adopted a policy of non-alignment and neutrality, and we can also observe steady progress towards the realization of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. It is therefore quite possible to imagine that the day may come when the Pacific is free of nuclear weapons, especially if nuclear-free zones could be established on the Korean peninsula, in China, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Canada. If such an ideal nuclear-free zone could be realized, the Pacific Ocean would become a pacific ocean in the most literal sense of the words. The realization of such a nuclear-free zone would also guarantee the kind of comprehensive security plan Japan is

⁸ Hitoshi Onishi, "Report on 'The Conference on Peace and Transformation in the Pacific Region'", in *The Peace Studies*, No. 9 (1984): 136-145.

seeking. Although this kind of non-nuclear policy seems quite unrealistic at first thought, it is by no mean impossible. It would not be correct for Japan to further the realization of the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept openly, but it is her duty to make efforts toward the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the region as the only nation on earth which has had the experience off being nuclear-bombed, as well as the duty to abide by the peace constitution and uphold the three non-nuclear principles.

My third point is the importance of cultural exchange. The Pacific Basin region is full of a wide variety of races, languages, and religions, to mention a few. The most essential element of exchanges between peoples having a complexity of socio-cultural differences between them is the importance of establishing heart-to-heart friendships. No true and strong cooperative relationship will appear under conditions of cultural segregation. Brisk cultural exchanges form the basis for regional consolidation. I agree in essence with the concrete propositions put forth in the Ohira report calling for the promotion of cultural, educational, and academic exchanges on an international level. Professor Sakamoto proposed in 1972 the establishment of the Organization for Asian Cultural Cooperation to promote cultural and communication exchanges.⁹ Although economic cooperation dare not be ignored, the exchange of culture, technology and human resources between concerned countries is essential for building all inter-national relationships.

In conclusion, as a possible alternative to the Pacific cooperation concept, I would like to propose the establishment of a Pacific Basin non-nuclear zone through the promotion of cultural exchanges. Naturally, this would be a cultural organization based on principles of equality and non-nuclear policy. I think that it is important for us to adopt a culturally-oriented policy instead of one of political priorities, as well as one of non-

⁹ Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, 189.

nuclear-ism for the purpose of applying the brakes to the nuclear arms race.

5. The Significance of the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept to Japan

Japan is now being showered with criticism for various countries around the world, including many in Asia as well as the United States and European countries. The criticism is especially vehement when directed against the closed nature of Japan's market, her excessive exports, and her unjust economic assistance programs. To correct these problems from their fundamental root, we often hear that Japan must alter her closed nature.

On the other hand, Japan is also called upon and many demands are made of her to play a more active role as an adjuster to help ease the tense international situation through the full use of her economic power, technical capabilities, and peace oriented nature. Japan is also advised to promote technology transfers, programs for training skilled workers, and the horizontal division of work for the purpose of assisting developing countries. I am not out of place when I say that Japan, big economically but small militarily, should change her closed nature to an open one and take the lead in promoting cultural exchanges while becoming a driving force towards peace. Japan should be involved in the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept from such a point of view. I think that Japan's positive participation in making such a regional cooperation concept reality will favorably influence her attitude in the area of diplomacy as follows:

Firstly, Japan has been often criticized for not having a specific policy of its own since the end of the Second World War. Its policies were always formulated for only short-term effect. Now, as Japan has grown into a major economic power, she must abandon such a haphazard attitude.¹⁰ It is now

¹⁰ R. Drifte, *Disarmament and Arms Control in Comprehensive National Security*, corrected version of *Japan's Quest for Comprehensive Security*, 19.

necessary for Japan to set forth her own, explicit diplomatic policies to international society, and especially to her neighboring countries. I feel that the Asia-Pacific Cooperation Concept has the potential to become one of Japan's more efficient diplomatic policies as we progress towards the twenty-first century, so long as the aforementioned guidelines of behavior and attitude are put into practice. It is very significant that Japan is trying to take a manifest diplomatic policy and undertake the responsibility to contribute to solving the difficult problems facing the international community with a positive and independent attitude while cooperating with a number of other countries. Up until now, Japan has absorbed both oriental and western cultures. It is no exaggeration to say that as Japan has the ability to ingest and synthesize various cultures, she should sincerely undertake action to help form some sort of cooperative body in the Asia-Pacific region which will be able to embrace a wide variety of different cultural elements and mentalities harmoniously.

Secondly, Japan's efforts in tackling the problems of establishing such an emulsification of cultures in a cooperative body will greatly influence her transition from a closed- to an open-natured society. It has been often pointed out that Japan has never had the experience of changing her attitude positively without first receiving some sort of external stimulus. Therefore, I think that Japan's taking a positive role in ironing out the differences between other countries in the region will provide her with the opportunity to transforming her closed nature by herself. Japan is now entering a new stage in her development where, if one wishes to improve one's own lot, one must first revolutionize oneself from within.

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INDEX

A

Afghanistan, 40, 129
ahimsa, xxxvii, 27, 33, 79,
113, 114, 125, 202, 203,
204, 205, 206, 211, 212,
213, 248
Amida, 48, 123, 216
anattā, 113, 123
Ariyaratne, x
arms race, 87, 147, 149, 236,
255, 262, 267, 283
Asia-Pacific, 92, 93, 94, 95,
96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102,
106, 107, 272, 273, 274,
275, 276, 277, 278, 279,
280, 281, 282, 283, 284
authoritarian, 79, 81
Avalokitesvara, xxiv

B

Bali, x, 199, 200, 249
Bodhicaryāvatāra, 132
Bodhisattva, ix, xxii, xxiv, 14
bomb, 87, 149, 232, 239
Borobudur, 199, 201
Buddha, xvii, xxxvi, xxxvii,
xxxviii, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,
12, 13, 16, 18, 30, 39, 40,
46, 50, 74, 75, 76, 79, 81,
82, 84, 122, 125, 126, 127,
130, 132, 144, 146, 151,
154, 155, 158, 187, 189,
193, 195, 196, 199, 200,
201, 202, 203, 204, 209,
211, 212, 213, 215, 216,

238, 240, 241, 242, 243,
244

Buddhahood, 115, 117, 125,
241, 243

C

Canada, xi, 92, 93, 259, 273,
276, 281

China, vii, x, xi, xxiv, xxix,
14, 40, 51, 53, 92, 93, 102,
103, 104, 105, 106, 107,
112, 119, 121, 133, 136,
147, 150, 151, 152, 154,
156, 157, 158, 159, 160,
161, 203, 226, 250, 255,
274, 279, 281

Christian, 35, 39, 42, 52, 53,
56, 58, 61, 64, 65, 113,
117, 119, 123, 159, 160,
177, 223, 225, 227, 232,
248

Christianity, 18, 40, 43, 45,
48, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59,
60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67,
70, 77, 78, 94, 113, 119,
123, 127, 222, 224, 225,
227, 228, 230, 231, 233

compassion, 8, 9, 10, 14, 75,
78, 80, 82, 114, 187, 213,
219

Cultural Revolution, 152,
153, 158

D

D. T. Suzuki, 217

Daewon Ki, vii, viii, ix, xiii,
xiv, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix,
xx, xxii, xxiii, xxiv
Dalai Lama, 134
democracy, 40, 65, 66, 68,
118, 211
dhamma, 114, 126
Dhammapada, 11, 69, 84,
145
Dharma, xx, xxii, 144, 147,
155, 197, 200, 224, 243
disarmament, xi, 80, 87, 90,
93, 95, 96, 97, 100, 103,
147, 161, 250, 254, 255,
259, 261, 265, 266, 268
DMZ, xvi, xxiv
dukkha, 47, 122

F

freedom, 16, 70, 71, 78, 125,
126, 142, 192, 208, 223,
227, 229, 230, 231, 234

G

Gandhi, xxx, 21, 25, 27, 30,
33, 34, 36, 50, 69, 78, 93,
114, 164, 165, 166, 168,
169, 176, 178, 202, 203,
204, 205, 206, 207, 208,
209, 210, 211, 212, 250
Gandhism, 50, 67, 68, 249
global, xi, 37, 38, 71, 72, 73,
75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82,
83, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 99,
120, 205, 209, 253, 254,
255, 256, 257

H

Hawaii, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii,
xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, xvii,
xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii,
xxxix, 36, 85, 87, 109,
116, 176, 216, 218, 237
Hīnayāna, 46, 70, 118, 122
Hindu, 27, 39, 49, 57, 61, 67,
68, 113, 121, 177, 199,
205, 206, 213, 249, 250
Hiroshima, 85, 93
human rights, xi, 21, 72, 80,
89, 91, 219, 229

I

ignorance, xxxvi, 72, 74, 76,
81, 101, 151, 163, 202, 219
India, vii, x, xi, 27, 36, 40,
64, 78, 93, 119, 129, 133,
136, 139, 147, 150, 151,
158, 160, 164, 165, 167,
170, 171, 176, 178, 199,
201, 203, 205, 206, 207,
209, 210, 212, 249
Iraq, xxix, xxxi
Islam, 18, 40, 42, 43, 45, 50,
51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60,
61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 77, 78,
113, 159, 160

J

Jain, ix
Japan, x, xi, xxi, xxii, xxiv,
xxxix, 14, 40, 47, 48, 49,
51, 53, 77, 78, 88, 92, 93,
95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102,

104, 106, 107, 109, 110,
119, 124, 147, 149, 150,
153, 156, 157, 158, 200,
203, 211, 216, 217, 222,
223, 224, 225, 226, 227,
228, 229, 230, 231, 232,
233, 234, 235, 237, 242,
244, 245, 248, 249, 253,
254, 255, 256, 271, 272,
273, 274, 275, 276, 277,
280, 281, 283, 284

Java, 200

Jesus, 30, 42, 113, 210

Jews, 42, 58, 73

K

Kalpahana, David (b. 1933),
xii

Kanjur, 132, 133, 135, 136,
144, 146

karuṇā, 8, 75, 114, 125

Kojiki, 223

Korea, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv,
xv, xviii, xxii, xxiv, 14, 40,
77, 93, 100, 101, 102, 103,
104, 105, 106, 107, 109,
119, 150, 248, 256

L

Lama, xxv, 130, 131, 133,
134, 135, 139, 146, 155

Lokayatra, 210

love, 33, 74, 81, 160, 163,
165, 170, 175, 185, 201,
225

M

Mahāyāna, xii, 3, 6, 8, 14, 15,
40, 45, 46, 47, 49, 53, 56,
70, 74, 77, 118, 122, 123,
150, 216, 238

Maitreya, ix

Malraux, 93

Maoism, 40, 49, 51, 66, 67,
69

Marxist, 49, 52, 67, 121

mettā, 8, 75, 114, 125

military, 4, 72, 77, 79, 82, 87,
89, 93, 94, 99, 100, 103,
104, 105, 107, 124, 130,
137, 157, 166, 177, 182,
183, 184, 185, 187, 189,
190, 191, 193, 194, 219,
222, 247, 248, 249, 250,
253, 254, 255, 273, 275,
281

Mongol, 130, 134, 136, 139,
145

Mongolia, x, xi, xv, xviii,
xxx, 40, 49, 129, 130, 131,
133, 134, 135, 136, 137,
138, 139, 140, 141, 142,
143, 145, 146, 150, 248,
249

Muslim, 27, 39, 43, 53, 55,
177, 249

N

Nagasaki, 93

NATO, 92, 254, 273

Nehru, 176, 201

NGO, 96
 Nichiren, 70, 85, 90, 159,
 216, 217, 218, 219, 224,
 237, 238, 239, 242, 243
 nonviolent, xi, xv, 28, 31, 36,
 71, 79, 177
 nuclear, xxix, xxxi, xxxv, 31,
 71, 75, 85, 87, 88, 89, 90,
 93, 99, 100, 112, 149, 159,
 160, 161, 232, 236, 240,
 254, 255, 257, 260, 261,
 263, 268, 269, 272, 281,
 282
 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 93

O

Opium War, 151

P

Pāli, 46, 117, 126, 150, 151,
 154, 156
 poverty, 61, 62, 89, 91, 124,
 167, 185, 202
 Pyeongyang, xvi, xvii, xviii,
 xx, xxi, xxiii, xxiv

Q

Quakers, 116, 167

R

Reagan, 72, 87, 253, 254

S

Śākyamuni, xvi, 142
 Sanskrit, 126, 132, 154
 Santidēva, 132

Shanti Sena, 165, 166, 167,
 168, 169, 170, 172, 173,
 175, 176, 177, 178, 179,
 180
 Shintō, 222, 223, 225, 229
 socialism, 111, 121
 Sōka, x, 47, 85, 90, 91, 107,
 109, 117, 127, 211, 212,
 221, 222, 223, 235, 236,
 237, 238, 239, 240, 242,
 243, 245, 246, 250, 257
 Soviet Union, x, xi, xxxi, 68,
 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 100,
 102, 103, 104, 105, 106,
 232, 250, 254, 273, 279,
 281
 Sri Lanka, x, xi, xii, xxv, 14,
 40, 46, 69, 147, 150, 154,
 156, 158, 248, 250
 Surak Sivaraksa (b. 1933), xi
 symbiotic, 80, 116, 120

T

Thailand, vii, x, xi, xxv, xxx,
 14, 39, 40, 49, 124, 125,
 150, 156, 159, 181, 187,
 189, 193, 194, 196, 248
 Theosophical, 200, 215
 Theravāda, 3, 6, 8, 14, 15, 39,
 40, 46, 217
 Thich, Nhat Hanh, x, xxv
 Tibet, 14, 40, 49, 63, 78, 132,
 133, 134, 135, 136, 138,
 150, 153, 248

U

unification, 102, 119, 137,
256, 277
United Nations, 54, 80, 90,
91, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 102,
107, 115, 235, 236, 239,
240, 242, 250, 259, 262,
263, 265, 266, 268, 269
United States, vii, viii, ix, x,
xv, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxiv,
xxv, xxxi, 72, 86, 87, 88,
89, 92, 100, 102, 103, 104,
106, 107, 159, 177, 185,
201, 206, 210, 216, 249,
273, 274, 276, 277, 278,
281, 283
Upanishads, 69, 78
USSR, i, 147, 159, 254, 255,
260, 261, 262, 265, 266,
267, 268, 269

V

violence, xxx, xxxi, xxxv,
xxxvi, xxxvii, xxxviii, 4,
13, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,
27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,
54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64,
65, 66, 67, 71, 72, 74, 75,
76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 92, 112,
113, 114, 124, 127, 164,
165, 168, 170, 171, 175,
176, 177, 180, 185, 189,
191, 196, 211, 239, 248,
250

W

war, xxix, xxxi, xxxii,
xxxviii, 3, 4, 22, 71, 72,
73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 87, 88,
90, 91, 92, 93, 100, 103,
104, 105, 106, 111, 112,
115, 127, 147, 157, 166,
167, 187, 189, 190, 193,
194, 195, 221, 222, 224,
225, 226, 227, 228, 229,
230, 231, 232, 233, 234,
235, 236, 239, 240, 242,
244, 245, 248, 253, 254,
257, 260, 261, 263, 265,
266, 267, 268, 269, 272,
281
World Disarmament
Campaign, 262, 265, 266,
268
World War II, 30, 91, 216

X

Xuan Zang, 154

Y

Yellow Sect, 133, 134, 137,
144

Z

Zen, 13, 70, 215, 216, 217,
218, 219, 226, 253